

# THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION



KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

2010





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# THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

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Libraries to the Universal Library of the Ptolemies*

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*The Roman World from the Beginnings of Latin Literature  
to the Monumental and Private Libraries of the Empire*

## III: *The Byzantine World*

*From Constantine the Great to Cardinal Bessarion  
Imperial, Monastic, School, and Private  
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THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN  
WESTERN CIVILIZATION



*From Cassiodorus  
to Furnival*



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FROM  
CASSIODORUS  
TO FURNIVAL

*Classical  
and Christian Letters,  
Schools and Libraries  
in the Monasteries  
and Universities,  
Western Book Centres*

IV

KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

Translated by  
TIMOTHY CULLEN  
DOOLIE SLOMAN

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2010







*'Truth reposes itself  
upon the couch of memory'*  
needs only to be found

From *Philobiblon*  
by R. de Bury







## Acknowledgements

I must confess that when I set out to treat the particular subjects, personalities and matters related to the world of books in the times of what is commonly called the Western Middle Ages – the period that is from the Late Roman up to the indeterminate fringes of the Renaissance – I felt small and inadequate by reason of the complexity and close inter-involvement of the problems. As to the archival material surviving from that period – end of the fourth century to beginning of the fifteenth – in the whole Continental European area and the British Isles, it only complicates matters further. Manuscripts are everywhere: *Lives* of Saints, opuses, treatises, patristic and biblical texts, catalogues, chronicles, registers, monastery libraries, book collections testifying to their owners, book workers, guardians of books and every sort of bibliophile and lover of books are present.

The assurance that the sentiment and certainty I had that my chosen path, albeit not a smooth one, was nonetheless the right one I owe to the views of Nikos Karapidakis, who was kind enough to read manuscripts and reassure me as to the correctness of my approach to the whole issue. I tender him here again my warm thanks, also for his willingness to lend me a lot of material from his personal library – books of which some have found their place by my bedside.

Detail makes the difference and the difference is in the detail as well. In this light, I wish to take this opportunity to thank a person who never fails to respond to any plea of mine for a convincing and genuine answer, based on whatever our tradition of language has so far manifested to us as well as what unwittingly it has concealed: I speak of and refer to my esteemed and valued friend Georgios Babiniotis. Key words I came across in my venture into the world of books, arcane interpretations that can be elucidated only with absolute knowledge of language structure were revealed to me thanks to his unmatched erudition in language. Strabo was the first to draw the distinction between *philosopher* and *philobiblos*, but who was the first to use the term after Strabo? The answer came from the linguistics sector: it was John Chrysostom. Chrysostom, however, blatantly ignored philosophers, and his belief in the sacred texts allowed him no margin for dichotomy of attitude, attributing a different meaning to *philobiblos*. Thus the *philobiblos* in his writings ceased to refer simply to a friend of books, or of the Bible, and was ascribed as being equal to *philochristos* (someone who acts according to the precepts of the Gospel). In his writings *philobiblos* thus is a bibliophile, a collector shall we say and denoted the person who loves to make use of them.

This was one of many elements my friend Babiniotis pointed out to me. As a nuance it appears imperceptible, as an aspect of definition over time of a term, to be difficult to perceive, the fineness of its hue in the context of a lengthy book to go unnoticed: and yet, it is the detail that makes the difference!







## *Preface*

This fourth volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization: From Cassiodorus to Furnival* surveys the continuation of the Roman tradition in the world of the library and in the fate of the monumental buildings of the Roman period, mainly those of Rome itself. It also studies the course taken by the book collections of men of letters and civil or ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the development of the special character of private libraries. The time span covered by this survey extends from the fourth century A.D. to about the fourteenth century. Geographically, it is not limited to Italy but embraces continental Europe and the British Isles.

The departure from the Graeco-Roman tradition of library management and the change in the thematic orientation of books were mainly due to the ascendancy of Christianity and the adoption of the new faith as the official religion of the state. This being the case, everything changed with regard to the writing and distributing of books. The Mediterranean basin, from being a meeting-place of peoples who migrated from West to East and vice versa, communicated in a common language and shared the same intellectual and religious interests, turned into a great divide with a well-nigh impenetrable barrier across it at a certain point. Greek, the lingua franca of the Roman Empire, had been completely forgotten in the West by the sixth century, and the products of the intellect – that is new writings – were no longer directed at a multinational readership but at local communities. Only a few books by Church Fathers were exceptions to the rule, and only thanks to the backing of persons with financial and political power.



The stock of ancient Greek and Latin literature in circulation was on the wane, as no Christian was interested in pagan writings or in finding convincing answers to his existential problems. The desideratum was the dominance and entrenchment of a Christian book that would be universally recognized as a work of heavenly origin: the Bible. But the Bible is not easy reading for someone who is not well versed in grammar and well educated generally; what is more, the various books of the Bible need a good deal of interpretation and have been interpreted in many different ways, and the parables are not always self-explanatory. God is everywhere, a God with a different face who is not absolutely in accord with the Gospels, where the concept of punishment as divine retribution is absent. So treatise after treatise was penned, offering explanatory comments and interpretations and attempting to hammer out a universally acceptable Christian doctrine: a whole literature centred on the Bible and the Passion of Christ.

Some of this literature has its own peculiarities and a dual nature, more so in the West than in the East. The reason for this was quite simply the ignorance of the faithful and of many of the clergy, too. This realization rationalizes the pen of the writer, who longs for his word and his message to be understood by all his audience, and whose earnest desire it is to express his opinions and beliefs on major theological problems and to explain events and actions outside the realm of existing knowledge, in plain language. Christian intellectuals defended themselves to their fellows and were not afraid to lower their intellectual standards when they felt it was necessary for them to descend to the intellectual level of the faithful rather than the other way round. Caesarius of Arles, for example, admits to, and apologizes for, his use of simple, 'rustic' words in preaching the word of God: this he does so that everyone in his flock will be able to understand the teachings and miracles of Jesus Christ.

Nor were the Western and Eastern halves of the Christian



Church united in the matter of religious writings. The East wrote in Greek and the West in Latin: even the Fathers of the Western Church were ignorant of Greek with the exception of Augustine of Hippo and Jerome, both of whom spent long periods in the East, and the Greek Church Fathers were likewise unable to read Latin. The rift went deep: the works of Augustine and Ambrose were unknown in the East and Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus were only occasionally read in the West. Moreover, in the extensive extant correspondence between some of the great writers of the Christian world, much is said about the inability of publishers and book dealers to keep the public informed about the latest major theological works to be written. There was no mechanism in place for promoting Western Christian literature in the East and vice versa, while within the Western world publishing was directed towards local markets.

Rome, of course, continued to claim pride of place as the centre of the Christian book world, because during the pontificate of Pope Damasus Jerome formed a circle of *literati* who supported his work in various ways and saw to it that his books reached the farthest limits of the known world. However, it was not only the presence of Christian writers in Rome that generated and sustained book production and reproduction, but also the symbolism and strategic position of the Apostolic See of the Western Church, that is the Vatican. The Church founded there by St. Peter was the number one pilgrim destination for Western Christians: it was there that they bought books of all kinds, not only for liturgical use in their various ecclesiastical communities but also to broaden their knowledge of the Christian literary tradition and the principles of Christian education. Then they would return home with their baggage full of manuscripts, or else they would use these portable book collections to form the nuclei of monastery libraries, because they often chose to carry on with their missionary work elsewhere.

There was a real need for books in the new parishes, dioce-



ses and monasteries, and the written tradition could not be replaced by any other medium such as word of mouth. Books were required not only for the liturgy – Gospel books, psalters, missals and so on – but also for the monks' general education; and, above all, copies of the Bible were needed. It was from the Bible that novices in the monasteries learnt grammar, besides reading chapters from it in their own time and learning whole passages by heart; and at the same time they read the first-fruits of Christian literature such as martyrologies and lives of saints, which presented them with convincing examples of the Christians' devotion to their faith and their acceptance of martyrdom. Pope Gregory the Great responded to this demand, and sometimes to similar appeals from the faithful throughout Christendom, more enthusiastically than any other church dignitary: he sent books to ecclesiastical foundations, organized missions for the conversion of entire regions, making sure that his missionaries – such as Augustine of Canterbury – were equipped with whole libraries of books, and he donated valuable manuscripts to kings, princes and other members of his flock. Missionaries from Ireland found that their frequent pilgrimages to the Holy See gave them an excellent opportunity to hunt for manuscripts in the local market, and they would return with sizable collections of books.

From the first decades of the ascendancy of the new religion, Christian exegetes and theologians, by taking different approaches to the scriptures, obliged the Church to rally its forces and convene councils to make rulings – on theological criteria – on interpretations and opinions deemed contrary to the views generally prevailing in the Church. The dissidents – heretics, in other words – and their followers created great problems and frequently shattered the Church's unity. The dissension culminated in the Great Schism between the Papacy in Rome and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which meant that Christendom was now divided into two camps. The results of the church



councils were felt not only at the theoretical level but in practice too, with consequences for the continued material existence of books themselves, for the verdict was not merely a matter of condemning the heretic and his followers: his profane book, too, was publicly cast into the flames. On this pretext large numbers of books, secular as well as theological, were destroyed by burning; and it is an established fact that this led to the irreparable loss of important products of the human mind.

The source of knowledge in the ancient world – whether for the ordinary reader, the teacher or the scholar – was the public library. This indisputable fact reflects the reality, but in addition there were numerous private libraries belonging to the aristocrats of the intellect and the purse which were also accessible to the educated public. Consequently no written work was ever likely to be ‘buried’. Between the situation in the ancient world and the state of affairs prevailing in the Middle Ages there is a yawning gulf. All the knowledge accumulated by the ancient world, as well as the fruits of Christian literature, lay in the hands of the clergy and the religious orders. What is more, after a certain point in time scholars and writers themselves sought refuge in monasteries, eventually bequeathing their worldly goods – including their collections of books – to the monastery’s communal library.

In this way the Church controlled all knowledge, dictated the educational methods to be used and played a dominant role in the production, copying and dissemination of books. The scriptoria were not only schools of calligraphy but also schools of art, and they fostered the sharing of knowledge through the medium of books between monasteries great and small, the length and breadth of Europe. Learned men as well as miniaturists toured from monastery to monastery, leaving their mark on codices which attest to new achievements in calligraphy and new schools of manuscript illumination. We can talk unequivocally in terms of *a Christian library common to all*, with reference to its



thematic scope, the form and special character of the books in question and the illuminations and calligraphy.

The Church's first move towards furthering the spread of learning to the laity according to systematic plans was taken at Charlemagne's court. The opening of 'external' schools in monasteries, such as St. Gallen Abbey, made it possible for those who did not wish to commit themselves to the religious life, or to the Church in general, to obtain a firm grounding in the seven liberal arts and not to be barred from the benefits of a culture jealously guarded within monastic walls. Instances of this practice were neither isolated nor scattered: during the so-called Carolingian Renaissance any number of new monasteries sprang up, chiefly in France and Germany, and many cathedrals – those of Metz and Würzburg, for example – opened schools and built libraries as part of an educational programme directed at other sections of the local community besides the clergy.

In this way the Church attracted into its ranks a large number of teachers and men of letters who gradually introduced their own teaching methods, which were not strictly limited to the religious approach but extended the school curriculum to include the rules of ancient Greek and Roman education, by teaching the trivium and quadrivium. Donatus's grammar, Aratus's astronomy, music, Euclid's geometry, arithmetic and other branches of learning would form the basis of scientific education and would lead by progressive stages to a reappraisal of all ancient literature. This teaching programme would also foster the writing of new books based on the classical tradition and hence the production of new manuscripts to enrich private and other collections.

From the Carolingian period onwards, the library became an institution just like the scriptorium. And while it may be true that neither of these two places are in no way comparable to ancient libraries, that they do not meet the requirements for reading on the premises nor conform to the rules of library science,



that does not alter the fact that they were at the core of every monastery's intellectual life.

Library supervisors and librarians succeeded one another and library catalogues and indexes were compiled, as well as occasional registers recording bequests and new accessions. Anonymous calligraphers and miniaturists proliferated, copied and illuminated manuscripts of incomparable artistic and technical excellence and gained an entrée into lay circles, working for princes and noblemen.

From the eleventh century onwards a new expressive medium, sparking off a fresh burst of book production and reproduction, proved to be a match for the books embosomed in the Church: this was the folk ballad, which kept the scribes busy. The ballads were a series of local romances or 'verse novels' based on popular legend and oral tradition, originally sung at princely courts by itinerant minstrels, the troubadours. The songs soon evolved into epics, like the stories of Alexander the Great and King Arthur and the *Roman de la Rose*, which were then copied out in writing in leaflets, sometimes illustrated. However, this genre of literature did not cross national borders: it always had a local flavour and developed in the nation states that came into being one by one, and it was helped by the triumph of the local languages that came to be used freely in politics, diplomacy and social life. The first of these languages to establish themselves in general use were French, English and Spanish in the cities of France, England and Spain, and next came Germany with its various local dialects. So everybody was able to take pleasure in the exploits of the heroes brought forth by their tribe or their clan, the heroes whose feats of valour and high moral fibre set up models to be imitated and guided their rulers' steps.

These two sections of the population, the Church and the laity, reached an accommodation towards the end of the twelfth century and developed into an alliance with a decisive impact on



the dissemination of European thought. The combination of the scholars themselves, who toured the cities and towns teaching and demanding easier access to higher education for the young, and the large number of supporters and auditors who followed them on tour, eventually forced the Church to become less exclusive. Within the existing institutions, especially the cathedrals, schools of higher studies were opened for the clergy and the laity, where tuition was given in the seven liberal arts, theology, canon law and civil law. Before long these ‘universities’ had won a high reputation and wielded enough power to break free from the restrictive control of the Church, as rulers and local dignitaries put in place an appropriate legal framework making it possible for colleges to be founded and run by laymen.

Around the universities there grew up a whole new world of teachers and students, who flocked to them from their diverse backgrounds to study and obtain degrees that would enable them to pursue their chosen careers. Geographically, the universities described an arc running from Salerno in the south through Bologna and Paris to Oxford in the north. But any course of study, let alone a university-level course, presupposes the availability of books – and books were not available to everybody, nor could all university students have afforded them even if they had been. And so, in the face of this shortage of books, a method was devised which suited everybody. The teachers set the syllabus for each course, dividing it into separate chapters, and a student then had the choice of copying the chapter he needed from someone else, or buying it and keeping it in his library, or hiring a copy and selling it on to another student when he no longer needed it. This was what is known as the *pecia* system.

This university methodology, which functioned under the absolute control of the university authorities, led to the legalization of copyists outside ecclesiastical circles, in the institutions of higher education, and of book middlemen, who can be regarded as the precursors of fully-fledged bookshops as we know



them today. In this way knowledge – any kind of knowledge and any thought hidden away in rare or unique books – became the common property of all. All now had access to knowledge and the intellectuals greatly fostered the expansion of knowledge by adding logic to the curriculum. The ecclesiastical authorities did not allow these new-fangled ideas to take root without a struggle: from time to time they banned the propagation of such opinions, and the teaching of Aristotle. For a short time, however, Aristotle was restored to the university curriculum, as the world of academe had generated enough momentum to break free of the influence and total control of the Church. His reappearance led to the publication of numerous new books based on his ‘didactic’ books (i.e. those he used in his own teaching). New translations and interpretations were written, departing from the line taken by Averroës and other Arab scholars, until eventually Albertus Magnus, Abelard and other philosopher-theologians enthroned the Stagirite as the supreme philosopher of the West.

All these reforms entailed the organization of every university library as an integral part of educational discipline. Those libraries – that of the Sorbonne, for example – enlarged their holdings from many and various sources, and they operated under different sets of rules. The initial nucleus of every library was expanded by bequests from faculty members and university circles, donations from persons motivated by various considerations or from clerical and lay patrons of literature, and purchases made out of university funds. The books were used by teachers in preparing their lectures and by students in their homework. According to the internal regulations of each college, every teacher and student, and others too, was allowed to borrow manuscripts from the library.

The rise in the intellectual level of any community that had its own university or college was plain for all to see, for it did indeed lead to higher standards in a broad segment of society, most no-



ticeably among those in occupations connected with the law. But the law, whether canon or civil, is not only a matter of defining rights and responsibilities: it also involves interpretation of the laws in force in accordance with unwritten rules underpinned by philosophical theory. Lawyers in either branch of the law, working with the Church or the royal court, reinforced their knowledge and their role by reading books, all sorts of books, and built up excellent libraries, so setting themselves up as ‘lawful guardians of knowledge’.

With specific textbooks being prescribed for use in higher studies, and with books being written according to scholarly criteria, the library ceased to be merely a storehouse for books and became a workplace. The use of quotations from well-respected and generally accepted works, and the chapter-and-verse references given in new works, gave much greater value to the old library tradition as a repository of reference material. This being so, libraries were designed to architectural specifications, with natural lighting, and furnished with the necessary equipment for the reader’s convenience. These rooms were the source of the heartbeat of every university, and it was there that the answers were to be found to the questions and speculations of every intellectual community.

Libraries, book collections, recourse to the written word, the written word in educational discipline, the book as an indisputable source of knowledge and reference material, took their place in the European world from the middle of the thirteenth century and reinforced their position with the founding of new universities and colleges in the big cities. But a book was not – and is not – just a piece of writing: it is a work of art, to be judged by its calligraphy and its artwork. Entire art schools were devoted to the beautification of books: from simple geometric and naturalistic designs to elaborate representations of the divine drama and especially the lives and works of kings and princes, not to mention scenes of student life. Donations, recip-



rocal gifts and incomparable works of art changed hands in the royal courts and among book-loving noblemen, who, after all, were the only people who could afford to commission works of that kind.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the whole of continental and insular Europe was nothing more nor less than an open book. From then on, no intellectual statement was considered valid unless it was derived from a written work. It was to books that people looked to learn about their traditions; the only authoritative pronouncements were those set down in writing; the oral tradition was lost while the written tradition remained and reminded the world of its presence by means of books. In the eyes of the Church, the philosophy of the world was derived from the Gospel; in the eyes of the laity, from Aristotle. The spadework had been done, the ground was fertile and all was ready to bear fruit and welcome those who in the fourteenth century were still students but were to develop into the pioneers of the Renaissance: men like Petrarch and Manuel Chrysoloras.

*Konstantinos Sp. Staikos*







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# I

FROM LATE ANTIQUITY  
TO  
THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES







## FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

### *New Methods in the Production and Distribution of Books, and the 'Demise' of Ancient Libraries*

**I**ntroduction. In A.D. 330, when Emperor Constantine the Great decided to move the capital of the Roman Empire to the East and Constantinople started to evolve into the 'New Rome', there were still twenty-eight public libraries functioning in Rome, according to Publius Victor.<sup>1</sup> To these we should add a large number of books that were either used by scholarly circles like that of Julia Domna, or were kept in aristocrats' villas, or belonged to the private libraries of men of letters and teachers, such as Flavius Philostratus and Serenus Sammonicus.<sup>2</sup> However, it is doubtful whether the public libraries in fora and bath-houses still enjoyed their old prestige or their status as the principal cultural meeting-places, especially considering that Ammianus Marcellinus describes them as 'tombs'.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile the publishing business had entered a period of gradual but radical change: authors no longer regarded Rome and Athens as the focal points of the publishing world but turned their attention to cities that were recognized centres with large numbers of students.

Rome itself did not have enough scriptoria nor the necessary publishing infrastructure for the distribution of books to the farthest corners of the Empire, though new administrative centres had been developing – and developing their cultural life as well – since the late second century A.D., especially along the northern frontier. Gaul, where the process of Romanization had spread far beyond Lyon, was a bastion of cultural life in Late Antiquity. Local schools grew into centres of learning in such cities as Marseille, Arles, Nîmes, Toulouse, Poitiers and especially Bordeaux, the birthplace of the poet Ausonius. Certainly it was no mere chance that led to the choice of Trier to be the capital of the Empire, the 'second Rome'. But that was not the main reason for the decline in the production of books in Rome for distribution in the Roman provinces: the recession was due not to the reloca-

*New cultural  
centres*

1. Pope Gregory the Great at his writing desk, inspired by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, with copyists in the lower zone. Ivory codex cover dated between 850 and 1000. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



tion of intellectual activity from Rome to other cities in the North, but chiefly to the development of fresh literary talent in those cities and of a new genre of literature resulting from the spread of Christianity. Then again, the Christian literature of the West was not shared by the faithful of the Mediterranean basin, as it was in Roman times: this is attested by the public and private bilingual libraries in the Graeco-Roman world, where the works of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers circulated



2. Ausonius. Engraving from A. Thevet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*. Paris, 1584, 488.

in book form only in certain regions of the East or the West. Nor was there any mechanism in place for translating Christian literature from Greek to Latin or vice versa: for example, Ambrose and Augustine were quite unknown in the East and Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus very little known in the West. Another reason for the limited interest in reading Graeco-Roman literature was the Church Fathers' virtually unanimous attitude towards pagan writings, which influenced and severely marginalized the books already in existence and their reproduction.

Christians were not forbidden to read pagan writings, but they were forbidden to propa-

gate pagan teachings. The philosophers were regarded as the 'patriarchs' of heretics, while the orators and poets were condemned out of hand as traitors to truth and morality. Meanwhile Christian thinkers – using the weapons of classical rhetoric, of course – proclaimed the superiority of Christian doctrine over the traditional Roman values. But at the same time there was some ambiguity in the Christian writers' attitude towards the usefulness of classical literature, an ambiguity evident in their own writings: Ambrose asserts that Holy Scripture contains all the material necessary for the formulation of Christian doctrine, yet he borrows from Cicero's *De officiis* in writing his *De officiis ministrorum*.<sup>4</sup> Jerome, who asks,



‘What has Cicero to do with [St.] Paul?’, elsewhere encourages Christian churchmen to make use of the tools of classical learning.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in *De doctrina christiana* Augustine supports the teaching of the liberal arts, but elsewhere he argues against their importance.<sup>6</sup>

As regards the publishing process, the role of publisher was now played in the first instance by the author himself and his friends and then by a patron of literature, who distributed books to the market or to individuals who expressed an interest. Ausonius, writing in the fourth century and for the most part in his birthplace, Bordeaux, devoted himself heart and soul to the people living in that area. He worked as a teacher of rhetoric and gained great popularity with his poetry, which covered a variety of genres. He used to ‘pre-publish’ his poems by sending them to his friends and asking them for constructive criticism before bringing them out in their final form.<sup>7</sup> Up to a point, that explains why his work had only a limited readership, which included Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius, Prudentius and Ennodius.<sup>8</sup>

The end of an era and of a whole civilization is the theme conveyed by the interests and preferences of Ammianus Marcellinus, also writing in the fourth century.<sup>9</sup> Marcellinus, born of a prominent Greek family in Antioch, Syria, was not a member of the early Christian community: moreover, he was entirely irreligious, for he interpreted everything to do with the gods by the use of reason alone. He wrote in Greek, not Latin; he modelled himself on Julian the Apostate;<sup>10</sup> and he was an unconventional character, for he chose to sign off by describing himself to his readers as *miles quondam et Graecus* (‘an ex-soldier and a Greek’).<sup>11</sup> In short, he was an intellectual living on the cusp of a new era and striving to make an impact with his work. But what was his new audience, his new readership, and what impact did his books in fact have?<sup>12</sup>

Marcellinus wrote his *Res gestae*, the last major historical work of the ancient era,<sup>13</sup> and read excerpts from it to literary circles like that of the Symmachi. It is a treatise on Roman history from Nerva to the death of Emperor Valens (387), divided into thirty-one books. From Rome it was carried in book form into Gaul, where many Roman aristocrats had large estates. Although the books of the *Res gestae* dedicated to Julian aroused great interest among the senators in Gaul because Julian had treated that province extremely favourably, it would appear that not one copy ever found its way to the East. The first thirteen books were lost for ever in the early Middle Ages and just one copy from Gaul, containing the remaining eighteen books (XIV-XXXI), survived at Hersfeld Abbey in Germany. One copy of that manuscript, dating from the ninth century and probably intended for Fulda Abbey, also in Germany, is today our sole source of the work.<sup>14</sup>



The production and marketing of Christian books followed its own rules, with many exceptions in both the West and the East: for example, in the case of Jerome.<sup>15</sup> Jerome, who was active from the late fourth century, tells us in his letters about the way he arranged for his writings to reach the public: this was similar to the method employed for the reproduction of books by most other Christian writers, who acted in general as their own publishers. As regards intellectual property rights, the normal practice remained as it had been in the Roman period: once a writer had handed over his work to anybody else, he had virtually no control over what happened to it. Some ecclesiastical writers enjoyed great popularity with the help of powerful personages who promoted their writings, as in the case of Jerome and his patron Paulinus of Nola. Let us not forget that from 386 until his death in 420 Jerome was living in Bethlehem, which means that his books were being published from the East to the West. Many copies of most of the works of St. Augustine (354-430) also reached the West from this end of the Mediterranean, as attested by a codex of *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianus* now in St. Petersburg, which contains in addition the first two books of *De doctrina christiana*.<sup>16</sup> What is more, the oldest Latin edition of the Bible was written in North Africa, as were the works of Tertullian and Cyprian.<sup>17</sup> And Cassiodorus, in the mid sixth century, hoped to be able to obtain manuscripts from Carthage and elsewhere in Africa to enrich the library of the Vivarium.<sup>18</sup>

One of the exceptions that prove the rule was Jerome, who, according to Orosius, really believed that everybody in the West awaited his next work as if it were the Golden Fleece.<sup>19</sup> Presumably Orosius was referring to Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, his *Letters* and, of course, his Latin translation of the Bible.

In Italy in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries there still existed scriptoria where illuminated manuscripts were copied, as well as individual scribes who collaborated with miniaturists. The codex of Virgil now in the Vatican Museum and the excerpt from the Old Testament Book of Kings in the Vetus Latina version are two examples of manuscripts copied in the late fourth century; both may in fact have come from the same scriptorium. Two others showing an affinity with the manuscript of Virgil are the Codex Romanus and the Codex Palatinus, both written in the early years of the sixth century and showing clear indications of coming from the hand of one and the same *stationarius* working in Rome near the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, since the middle of the fourth century (in the lifetime of St. Martin of Tours, *ca.* 360), monks and nuns had been copying manuscripts on a commercial basis; and there is reliable evidence of manuscript copying in monasteries in St. Benedict's lifetime (480-543).



Another major factor that altered the parameters of producing and distributing books in the early Middle Ages was the reading public. Greek and Roman literature was addressed to a specific readership: schools, academies, philosophy schools, educated people, grammarians, teachers and the users of scattered libraries of one sort or another. A good knowledge of Greek and Latin went without saying in those circles, as well as a high standard of general education, so the readers would be familiar with the persons and things referred to in ancient poetry and prose and the divine symbolisms, the traditional customs and practices involved in pagan cults – in short, a whole world that was now gradually disappearing. Most Christians, on the other hand, possessed only a meagre vocabulary and were almost entirely unacquainted with that literary tradition. To strengthen their faith they needed didactic works expressing easily intelligible concepts in simple language, which they could assimilate from start to finish just as they were, such as martyrologies. But this kind of writing had no literary pretensions, nor did it require any publishing organization: all that was necessary for its diffusion was a copyist or a reader. And indeed martyrologies, with their suggestions of the divine Passion, were the first-fruits of Christian literature for the ordinary people.<sup>21</sup>

There is no doubt that the world of books in the Middle Ages, at least up to the twelfth century, was dominated by monks. Preachers, missionaries, advocates of the communal life, ascetics and others who renounced material pleasures founded thousands of monasteries following the rules of one order or another. Then, to give each and every monk a common intellectual grounding regardless of the order he belonged to, schools, scriptoria and libraries were established in the monasteries so that the superiors could control not only the monks but the laity as well. The wide extent of this practice is amply demonstrated by the abundance of copies of the Bible or parts thereof, which were produced in such great numbers



3. *St. Jerome, Father of the Vulgate.* Oil painting of the school of Quentin Metsys. Liège, Musée d'Art Mosan.

*Monasteries  
as cradles  
of learning*



in the Middle Ages that the monks used them as pillows. But this trend did not follow a uniform course and there were many significant divergences, for there were inspired and learned Church dignitaries throughout the Middle Ages who had the power and the ability to change the intellectual outlook of their monasteries; and, by so doing, they gradually laid the foundations for the rebirth of book learning in the fifteenth century.

For the Monastery of the Vivarium, Cassiodorus (485 – *ca.* 583) drew up a rule specifying the subject matter of the books to be copied by the monks: his philosophy was to maintain the Graeco-Roman tradition, to institute a systematic programme for the translation of Greek works into Latin and at the same time to propagate Christian literature. His initiative died with him, but it had a decisive effect in that it led to monks being occupied not only with manual and practical work but also with copying books in the scriptoria and organizing their monastic libraries.<sup>22</sup>

Until the time of Charlemagne (8th-9th centuries) the production and distribution of books and the formation and organization of libraries were all in the hands of monks. The presence of Alcuin at Charlemagne's court, the never-ending reappraisal of ancient literature and the intellectual bonds forged between Charlemagne's court and York gave a new dimension to laity's awareness of the formation of libraries in the context of a broader acquisition of general knowledge.<sup>23</sup> With the backing of Charlemagne himself, old grammar textbooks by writers such as Diomedes and Marius Victorinus were rescued from oblivion, helping to establish the liberal arts as subjects of study in the monasteries and leading to the foundation of schools outside the monasteries. This fresh approach to schooling gave a further boost to book production by increasing the demand for textbooks of arithmetic, astronomy, dialectic, geometry and rhetoric.

From about the eleventh century onwards the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition and Christian religious writing were supplemented by a new genre of literature written for local or national consumption and in new linguistic idioms. From being a purely oral genre consisting of simple songs and ballads, this verbal art soon evolved into the form of longer romances and epics that were written down in books. The life and exploits of Alexander the Great or King Arthur were themes much favoured in aristocratic circles and princely courts. These heroes were role models for the nobles, who strove to prove themselves worthy peers of the great men. This gave rise to the courtly romances (*romans courtois*), which spread rapidly and established themselves as popular reading matter in the cities and large towns, as in the case of the much-loved *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>24</sup>



A major factor underlying the success of popular literature from the eleventh century onwards was the language, as these epics and romances were written not in Latin but in the vernacular of each country. A pivotal role in promoting this trend was played by urban centres such as London, Paris and the cities of Castile, where English, French and Spanish respectively were the languages in general use, at least in everyday life. And even in Germany, where the various states did not have the political self-sufficiency of a unified nation, the prevalent language was the local dialect of each state. Consequently people did not need to know Latin to read a book: they could enjoy romances and epics in their own language and let their imagination be stirred by their heroes' exploits.<sup>25</sup>

From the late twelfth century onwards radical changes appeared in the landscape of the world of books, as regards both production and subject matter. Universities and centres of learning were founded and staffed by members of teachers' guilds. At first the guilds tried to distance themselves from the ecclesiastical authorities so as to gain full autonomy when they succeeded. This movement started in Paris and from there spread to Bologna, Oxford and Salerno.<sup>26</sup> The advent of these new institutions of learning led to the formation of university libraries, which rapidly developed into an integral component of their whole educational philosophy. What is more, as we shall see, the necessity of having books of one's own stayed with a graduate in later life and a private library came to be regarded as an essential for every student who wished to climb the educational ladder.

University libraries, which existed to support courses of study, could no longer rely solely on the books that monasteries had in their collections. Fresh material was needed, in multiple copies and on other subjects, to supplement the textbooks required for the liberal arts: works on civil law, ecclesiastical matters, philosophy and law, for example. Furthermore, the rediscovery of Aristotle created a whole new category of books, for between the late twelfth and early thirteenth century the entire corpus of his work was translated from Greek and Arabic into Latin and commentaries were written.<sup>27</sup>

In the thirteenth century, scholars in Paris came to realize that in rediscovering the work of ancient writers they were crossing the threshold of a complete reconciliation between knowledge of the material world and religious revelation. The Dominicans wrote treatises in which they set out to explain their 'supreme' beliefs concerning the matters under consideration: these were known as *summae*, a *summa* being a compendious summary of a large subject. Albertus Magnus, teaching in Paris, attempted to differentiate between Aristotle and Averroes and also to reconcile ancient Greek metaphysics with Christianity.<sup>28</sup>

*The first  
universities*

*Aristotle  
in the limelight  
once again*



It need hardly be said that monastic libraries did not cease to exist in the late Middle Ages, nor did the output of their scriptoria dry up, but they lost the privilege of exclusive 'ownership' of knowledge. Cathedral libraries became attached to educational institutions, school and university libraries were formed, students and teachers built up their own book collections and at the same time various new systems were developed for copying books and distributing them through booksellers. In addition, the re-emergence of Aristotle and the growth of Aristotelian studies gave rise to a burst of new writing. Royal libraries and the collections belonging to ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries were constantly being enriched as the horizons broadened for the unrestricted diffusion of ideas. The road to the Renaissance was now open and all that remained was for time to do its work.

**The History of Geography.** The medieval West was built on the ruins of the Roman world: from ancient Rome it drew knowledge and support in a long drawn-out process in the course of which it was confronted with insuperable obstacles.

Barbarian incursions into the Roman Empire started in the third century, when a great crisis undermined the unity of the Roman world, and continued for long thereafter.<sup>29</sup> First the provinces acquired autonomy and then they took over as the Senate became overwhelmed by members from Spain, Gaul and the East. The emperors Trajan and Hadrian were both of Spanish descent, while the Severan dynasty came from Africa and originated in Syria. The transfer of the capital to Constantinople ('New Rome') by Constantine the Great (324-330) gives the measure of the Roman world's eastward drift. Attempts to keep West and East united never came to anything and the first rift between them resulted from the events of the fourth century. Byzantium was the continuation of the Roman Empire while the West sank into poverty and barbarism, and it took many centuries of political and cultural evolution for all the western channels to be reopened, bringing the Middle Ages to an end.

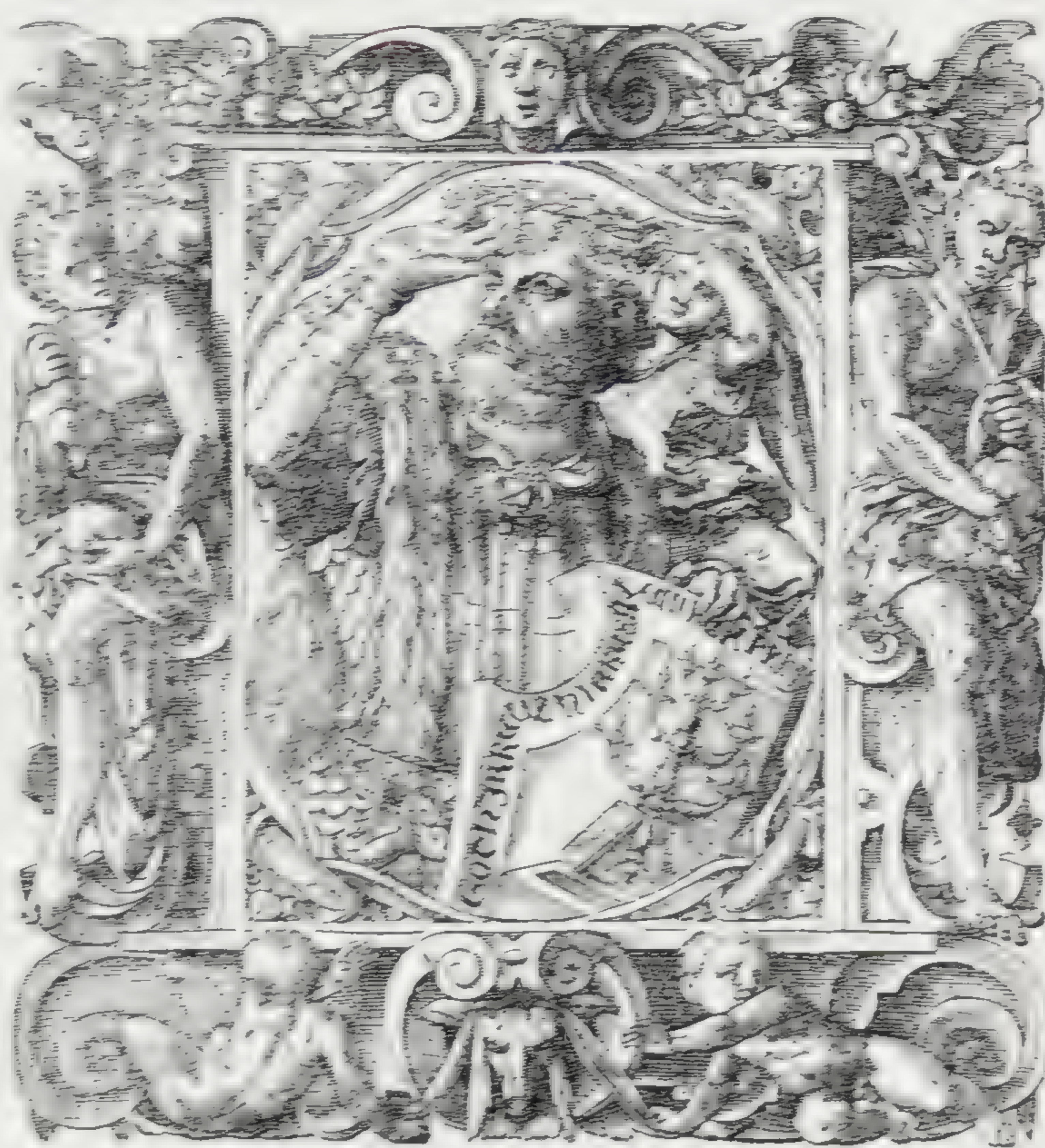
In 410 Rome fell to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, whose attitude was different from that of other conquerors, for he promised to treat churches as refuges and was as good as his word. St. Augustine considered the fall of Rome to be no more than a piece of ill-fortune. The moment had arrived for the Romans to digest the reality of a process of acculturation between the barbarians and themselves. The orator Themistius of Constantinople (4th cent.) writes in the preface to one of his works: 'At present the wounds inflicted by the Goths are still fresh, but soon we will be sitting face to face with them at table and fighting side by side with them in battle, and they will be joining us in our civic duties.'



From the fifth to the eighth century barbarian incursions redrew the whole political map of the West, an area only nominally ruled by the Byzantine emperor, sometimes by a slow, more or less peaceful process but sometimes in campaigns involving bloody battles and massacres in Roman territory. In a period of about twenty years, between 407 and 429, a series of invasions devastated Italy, France and Spain. Vandals, Alans and Suevi reduced the Iberian peninsula to an uninhabited wilderness: and the only barbarians who possessed a fleet, the Vandals,

sailed as far as North Africa and overran the Roman provinces there (in what are now Tunisia and eastern Algeria). In the second half of the fifth century great changes were made in the map of northern Europe: Norsemen, Angles, Jutes and Saxons occupied Great Britain in a wave of savage incursions, with the result that many Britons crossed the Channel to Armorica (now Brittany). It was in the midst of all this turbulence that Attila appeared on the scene. In about 434 he united the Mongol tribes that had swept westwards: and in 451 he overcame a number of barbarian hordes, enlisted their fighting men in his army and sallied out from the Balkans into Gaul. In 452 he threatened northern Italy and captured Aquileia, but then the Roman general Aetius joined forces with Visigoth churchmen and halted his advance in a decisive battle in the Catalonian plains.

About the year 468 Clovis and Theodoric first made their presence felt on the political scene, just when the Visigoths under Euric were making a renewed attempt to conquer Spain. Clovis was the tribal leader of the Sallian Franks, who in the fifth century had invaded Belgium and advanced into northern Gaul. Uniting most of the Frankish tribes under his command, he subdued northern Gaul and in 468 defeated the Roman general Syagrius at Soissons, which he made his capi-



† *Triumph of the Gods of Italy, 1540-50. Engraving from P. L'Estre, *Enge Virorum Bellis Virtute Illustrum* (Paris, 1575), 24.*



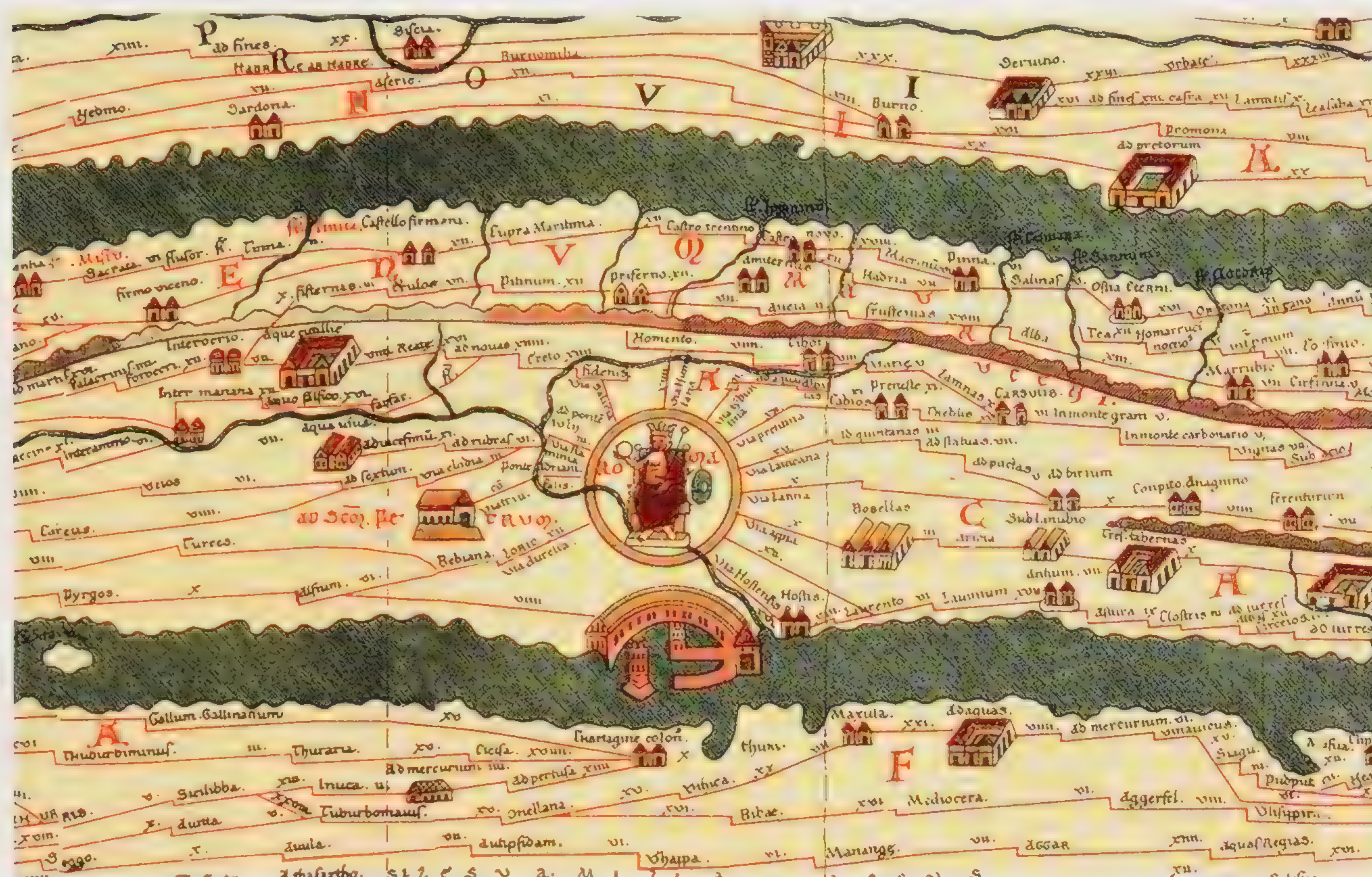
tal. In 507 he drove the Visigoths out of Aquitania and on his death in 511 he bequeathed the whole of Gaul except Provence to the Franks. Meanwhile the Ostrogoths under Theodoric attacked Constantinople in 487 but were soon driven off and turned back towards Italy, which they conquered in 493. Theodoric established his court at Ravenna and reigned for thirty years with Romans of the calibre of Liberius, Symmachus, Cassiodorus and Boethius among his counsellors. Having spent many years in Constantinople, albeit as a hostage, he grew up to be an 'adopted Roman', with the result that after returning to Italy he restored the *Pax romana* there and ran the country so well that many people considered his reign to be a 'golden age'.

In the fifth century the last great personalities who had distinguished themselves in the Western Empire came to inglorious ends. Stilicho, the Vandal patrician and Consul under Emperor Honorius, was executed in 408 on the latter's orders; Aetius, 'the last of the Romans', was assassinated in 454; Syagrius was handed over by the Visigoths to Clovis, who had him beheaded in 486; and Odoacer was lured by Theodoric into a trap and was killed by the Ostrogoths in 493.

By the early sixth century the West appears to have been divided between the Anglo-Saxons in Britain (which was cut off from continental Europe), the Franks in Gaul, the Burgundians who were confined to Savoy, the Visigoths who ruled Spain, the Vandals well established in Africa and the Ostrogoths in Italy. Until then the policy of the Eastern emperors had been to prevent the barbarians from threatening Constantinople by buying their submission at a high price and encouraging them to devote their attention to the Western Empire. A year after Theodoric's death in 527, however, their policy changed direction on Justinian's accession to the throne. The new emperor abandoned his predecessors' passive stance and went on to the counter-attack. Justinian's aim was to recover, if not the whole of the Western Roman Empire, at least the main parts of it facing the Mediterranean. The Byzantines smashed the Vandal kingdom in Africa (533-534) and drove the Goths out of Italy between 536 and 555, while in Spain they wrested Batica from the Visigoths in 554. However, these reconquests not only proved short-lived but weakened Byzantium both economically and militarily. Worse still, in 542 the tribulations of war were compounded by an outbreak of the plague which decimated the population of Italy. From 562 to 572, with the advance of the Avars, the Langobardi or Lombards were pushed southwards and occupied Italy down to Rome and its environs, except for the Exarchate of Ravenna. The Visigoths recovered Batica towards the end of the sixth century and some decades later the Arabs appeared on the scene, capturing Egypt and North Africa.



The eighth century belongs to the Franks, who, after some temporary setbacks, succeeded in winning the support of the Holy See by embracing Catholicism rather than Arianism. In the meantime the Franks had overcome the Kingdom of Burgundy between 523 and 534, and in 536 they became masters of Provence. But the Franks were not the only orthodox believers in the Christian West, for the Visigoths and Lombards also renounced Arianism in favour of Catholicism. It was against this background that Pope Gregory the Great sent the monk Augustine to



5. Peutinger's Rome as reproduced in F. Prontera (ed.), *Tabula Peutingeriana: Le antiche vie del mondo*, Florence, L.S. Olschki, 2003.

convert the Anglo-Saxons, and thanks to Willibrord and Boniface Catholicism was also introduced into Friesland and Germany.

On the rise to power of the Carolingian dynasty, the Franks embarked on a bold policy: Pippin the Short conceded to the Catholic leadership the status it claimed for itself by signing a treaty whereby he acknowledged the Holy See's secular power over a large area of Italy around Rome. Thus was born the Papal State, the Heritage of St. Peter, and the foundations were laid of the papacy's secular power, which was to play a key role in the political, cultural and moral history of Europe throughout the Middle Ages and even after. This opened the way for the



Frankish monarchy of the Carolingians to bring most of the Christian West under its sovereignty and subsequently to restore the Western Empire, to the advantage of the Frankish kings themselves.

Between the death in 395 of Theodosius the Great, the last emperor to rule over both West and East, and the coronation of Charlemagne in 800, a new world came into being in the west, born out of a variety of military, political and religious proceedings and manifesting the fusion of the Roman and barbarian worlds. The Medieval West had taken geographical and political shape.

**Publishing in the Late Roman period.** Although the new class of intellectuals thrust up by the ascendancy of Christianity regarded the Latin literary tradition with hostility, or at best indifference, at the end of the fifth century it was still possible to buy books by Latin writers – Virgil, Cicero, Plautus and Lucan, for example – though not those of the early period such as Naevius, Ennius and Cato, some of whose works had already disappeared from circulation by Cicero's time.<sup>30</sup> Convincing evidence of this is provided by the magnificent books that survive from that period, such as the illuminated manuscript of Virgil in the Vatican Library and the sixth-century Codex Agrimensorum, written on parchment and illuminated with colour sketches of Roman farming practices.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, to judge by some of the superb illuminated manuscripts produced in the sixth century, it can be unequivocally asserted that the art of book production and the character and quality of books, so far from being marginalized, had passed smoothly into the Church's sphere of influence.

Most works of Latin literature were still in existence in the sixth century, the only difference being that the choice of texts to be copied and circulated in book form no longer rested with private enterprise but passed into the hands of monastic superiors and cathedral schools. And so, little by little, a change became apparent in the direction of editorial policy, away from the course set by the *librarii*,<sup>32</sup> who had been primarily concerned to satisfy the tastes of Roman society. The main objective of publishers now was to bring out books on religious subjects to supply the needs of parishes, dioceses and monastic communities. This does not mean, of course, that the flow of classical Latin books coming on to the market dried up

6. *Dido, Queen of Carthage, accompanied by her sister Anna, offers a sacrifice to the gods, as described in the Aeneid. Illumination from a manuscript of Virgil's Aeneid and Georgics, probably painted in Rome ca. 400. The manuscript is the famous Codex Vergilius Vaticanus. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. lat. 3225, fo. 19r).*





PRINCEPS IDEI GERANDI UNTRACIA. ILLAS  
INQUIRONTIACIANTILICIAS DEMACALIDINTI  
ICCHIA. ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS  
IONON ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS  
LESNTINIS DINTINENTIS. ILLAS ILLAS  
CANDINTIS UNTRACIA ILLAS ILLAS ILLAS



completely, not least because there were many works on grammar, history, engineering, mechanics and similar subjects of general practical interest that long remained essential teaching aids in every section of society.<sup>33</sup>

Another factor that depressed the market for classical literature was the termination of the Greek language's triumphant progress through Europe and of the



7. Illumination from a parchment manuscript written in Germany ca. 825, containing comedies by Terence. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. lat. 3868, fo. 4v).

The Greek  
language  
marginalized

production and publication of Greek books for Roman readers.<sup>34</sup> By the sixth century Greek was already a forgotten language in Spain, Britain and France. When the Vandals conquered North Africa not only did the use of Greek die out forever, but with the loss of the language the Church of Italy and the scholars living in Africa were cut off from a life-enhancing source of Christian thinking that had come into being there as early as the second century. In Italy, where bilingualism was still the order of the day at least in the upper strata of society and much of the public administration until late in the fourth century, the last Greek-speaking generation was that of Boethius (†525) and Cassiodorus.<sup>35</sup> It is illuminating to note that around the year 600 there was no one in Rome able to read the Greek Church Fathers and that Pope Gregory V, the Great (590-604), did not know Greek even though he had previously spent some time as papal nuncio in Constantinople. In the seventh century at Ravenna, capital of the Byzantine Exarchate, there was not one person capable of carrying on the correspondence in Greek with the court in Constantinople. The last remaining bastions of Greek language and liter-



ature were the monasteries of Lower Italy and Sicily, where the monks fostered interest in reading and copying the Greek classics, founded Greek schools and maintained close relations with the East, even after the Schism and right down to the Norman conquest.<sup>36</sup>

In antiquity a major source of books had been the theatre, but in the Middle Ages, when the ecclesiastical authorities banned drama as a form of popular entertainment at least until the eleventh century, almost all the poetical and theatrical works of the Roman era were consigned to oblivion. Nor was that all, for stage plays were not replaced by any other form of spectacle based on the written word which might then be turned into a book for a wide readership, as had been the case in the Graeco-Roman era.<sup>37</sup> The last scholar to draw extensively on theatrical material in late antiquity was Boethius, whose verses in *The Consolation of Philosophy* preserve a choric echo of Seneca.<sup>38</sup> Terence was the only dramatist whose plays would seem to have been fairly widely available, to judge by the work of the nun Roswitha,<sup>39</sup> writing in the tenth century; but that would simply have been the exception that proves the rule, and we have to wait until the Renaissance to find the Roman comic playwrights once more in the limelight.



8. The poetess Roswitha of Gandersheim presents her book to Emperor Otto. Engraving by Dürer, from *Opera Hrosvite Illustris*, Nuerenberg, 1501.

**The prime movers in the preservation of classical literature in the early Middle Ages.** Four scholars in particular played the leading roles in preserving classical literature, presenting it in a suitable form for assimilation by medieval teachers and students and at the same time giving it the necessary Christian clothing: they were Boethius (ca. 480-524), Cassiodorus (ca. 480-573), Isidore of Seville (ca. 576-636) and Bede (ca. 673-735).

Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius was born in 480 and acquired a broad education which enabled him to climb the political ladder rapidly.<sup>40</sup> He was in tune with the thinking of his time and set himself the ambitious objective of introducing

Boethius  
and his  
translations



the Latin West to philosophy. With this end in view he decided to translate the whole of Plato and Aristotle and so to prove that those two philosophers followed parallel courses. However, he never managed to bring his dream to fruition, for Theodoric placed him under house arrest, with the result that he translated only a

small portion of Aristotle's works and none of Plato except *Timaeus*, which had already been translated long before. He produced Latin editions of the *Organon*<sup>41</sup> and Porphyry's *Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle*,<sup>42</sup> an annotated edition of Cicero's *Topica* and some other works. Boethius's writings on logic – *De categoricis syllogismis*, *De hypotheticis syllogismis* and *De divisione*, among others – are based on Marius Victorinus, who translated and annotated works by Aristotle and Porphyry.<sup>43</sup> But his masterpiece is *De consolazione philosophiae*, a work in five books written in the form of a medical dialogue between Philosophy and a person wrongly condemned to death.<sup>44</sup> It is a book that was much read in the Middle Ages and has been much read ever since, notable for its honesty



9. Boethius in his library. Illumination from a 15th-century manuscript. Mâcon, Municipal Library (Ms 95, fo. 1).

and for the attitude the author takes in confronting his fate. Here reason coexists with emotion: Boethius marries medieval poetry with logic, the scientific tool of Aristotelian thought.<sup>45</sup>

The Middle Ages owed all that it was to know of Aristotle's work to Boethius. This was the *Logica vetus* or old logic and 'in assimilable doses, the conceptual and verbal categories which were to be the earliest stock-in-trade of Scholasticism'.



To Boethius, too, the Middle Ages owed the definition of nature: ‘Nature is what informs each thing by a specific difference.’ And it was also thanks to him that a prominent place in medieval culture was given to music, by which Boethius attached himself to the Greek ideal of *μουσικὸς ἀνὴρ* (‘musical man’).

Cassiodorus, whom we shall be discussing at greater length in connection with his monastery, the Vivarium,<sup>46</sup> tried as far as possible to prevent the separation of theology from the secular sciences, which he considered necessary aids to the formation of a well-rounded theology. His *Institutiones* was instrumental in the development of an educational system for Western monasticism based on encyclopaedic learning and the cultivation of classical literature. Parts of this work soon came to be accepted as an excellent guide to the formation of monastic libraries in the West: the first part is devoted to the study of the Bible and Christian writers such as Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome and Hilary, while the second part focuses on the liberal arts and contains masterly expositions of subjects of general interest including medical matters. And for good measure, Cassiodorus is not above advising brethren with no aptitude for serious study to seek inner peace in their own way, if need be by gardening.<sup>47</sup>

Isidore was born at Cartagena, Spain, *circa* 576 and died in 636. He attended the cathedral school in Seville, where he was taught the liberal arts by a group of learned doctors under the supervision of Archbishop Leander.<sup>48</sup> Within a short time he had mastered Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and not long afterwards he succeeded Leander on the archiepiscopal throne, by which time the Goths had been ravaging the culture of Spain for two centuries.<sup>49</sup> He therefore decided to devote his energies to building an ‘ark’ of mainly Roman culture so that the fruits of the-  
lity tradition would not be lost for ever. He compiled a universal encyclopaedia entitled *Originum sive etymologiarum libri XX*, generally known as the *Etymologiae* (*Etymologies*).<sup>50</sup> Isidore firmly believed that the essential nature of every entity can be traced back through its linguistic roots to the Greek and Latin words that express and symbolize that nature.

In this multi-volume work Isidore recorded all learning in condensed form, citing passages from earlier authors and preserving information which would not



10. Isidore of Seville and Braulio in the illuminated *Libri originum*, a manuscript of the Ottonian period dated to the second half of the 10th c.

Isidore  
of Seville



**S**ed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**I**tem hinc de nominis sui poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

ut hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**I**tem hinc de nominis sui poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**A**lter hinc de nominis sui poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**C**oncedimus de hinc de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**C**oncedimus de hinc de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**R**odiar de hinc de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**N**on concedimus de hinc de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**C**oncedimus de hinc de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem

**C**oncedimus de hinc de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem  
sed hinc aliter de Campu poma  
habebit pulchritudinem et spem



otherwise have come down to us. Among other things, the *Etymologiae* is an important source of information on the astronomical theories current in the early Middle Ages. Yet Isidore, for all his titanic labours on the compilation of this material, did not think it necessary to pay due respect to the ownership of intellectual property by naming his sources: perhaps he reckoned that the few educated readers of his time would recognize the sources by themselves, as in the case of his article on ancient libraries.<sup>51</sup> He dedicated the work to his friend Bishop Braulio,<sup>52</sup> who had urged him to compile it in the first place and then arranged the material in twenty books. The first three books are purely didactic, being taken up with grammar, literature and the liberal arts, while the fourth treats of medicine and libraries.

The *Etymologiae* was of capital importance in the West throughout the Middle Ages, both as a school and university textbook and as an indispensable work of reference for every library. It is worth stressing, too, that well before the Arabs brought Aristotelian and other philosophy into Spain, Isidore, in the *Etymologiae*, had given extensive treatment to Greek philosophy.

Lastly, the Venerable Bede was born in 672/73 (his birthplace is unknown but may have been Newcastle or Monkton) and died in 735.<sup>53</sup> He was a monk at Jarrow Monastery in Northumbria, which developed into one of the great educational centres of northern England. He was famed for the breadth of his learning – his interests extended to mathematics and astronomy – and adopted a meticulously scientific approach in his writing. Although he believed in miracles unreservedly and wrote about them, he subjected his sources to rigorous critical examination. When gathering information for his account of Augustine's mission to England he did not rely solely on what he knew but decided to send a monk to Rome to search for all Gregory the Great's correspondence about England in the papal archives, and these letters he included in his *History*.

His most popular work is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*),<sup>54</sup> which gives an account of the Angles' victory over the Celts and their religion, linking the victory to the Christian faith. His book *On the Nature of Things* (*De natura rerum*) shows that he had access to Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, from which he drew valuable material, and he also wrote grammar textbooks for use in monastic schools.<sup>55</sup> Bede gives the most complete picture of the multiplicity of Holy Scripture, and we are indebted to him

Bede and  
his circle

11. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*. Parchment codex written in northern Italy in the 8th c. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek (Cod. Guelf. 64 Weiss, fo. 256r).



## CHAPTER I

*From Late  
Antiquity to the  
Early Middle Ages*

for the theory of the four senses which is the basis for all medieval exegesis of the Bible.<sup>56</sup> Yet in spite of the encyclopaedic scope of his knowledge, he was not well versed in the classics and there are no references to the liberal arts in any of his works. He was described as the most learned man of his times and, unlike Isidore of Seville, he noted the authors of passages he had borrowed and begged his copyists to preserve the references without fail. The library he must have had for his



12. *The Venerable Bede. Engraving from A. Thevet, Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres, Paris, 1584, 120.*

research on such a wide range of subjects would have been of considerable size, perhaps the biggest in England. It is possible that Bede drew some of his material from the library at Jarrow Abbey and the private collections of friends who came to visit him, and so it would have contained between 300 and 500 titles.<sup>57</sup>

### **The Roman educational curriculum as used by Christians.**

In the Late Roman period the principal elements of the educational curriculum were literary and philosophical subjects related to religious instruction, always on condition that appropriate texts were used as models. Writings on the applied sciences were seldom included in any course of study, and

if they were it was only on account of their literary merits.<sup>58</sup> The sons of noblemen, who were destined by birth for a career in public life, were educated by teachers of grammar and rhetoric. Higher studies in law, philosophy, mathematics and medicine were available only in big cities with public libraries or in private schools, of which there were some in the West and more in the East.

The textbooks and classroom aids used in Latin language teaching were anthologies of passages from great Roman writers. Standard primers included the grammars by Donatus and Priscian, and the most widely-used rhetoric textbook was Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*.<sup>59</sup> So the curriculum whereby scholars in the

*Lingering elements  
of Roman education*



early Middle Ages were expected to preserve the Latin language and its literary tradition was based entirely on encyclopaedic works which emphasized the rules of grammar laid down in Late Roman textbooks, combined with instruction on religious and philosophical questions.

There was no standard educational curriculum in the age of monasticism: it varied from one region to another and from one monastery to another, and it also depended on the school discipline imposed by teachers and grammarians in the light of their own intellectual approaches and preoccupations. Cassiodorus and Ennodius believed that the unseen mother of rhetoric was 'the grammatical art'; and so, on the assumption that grammar leads to the correct use of language, students should aim to follow the example of the great poets – Virgil, Silius Italicus, Ovid, Lucan and others – by committing their works to memory. Cicero had his place in the syllabus, as did Caesarius and Valerius Maximus. Ennodius, who came from Arles and had learnt the skills of a Gaulish teacher of rhetoric, alternates between themes from antiquity and the Christian era and between prose and poetry, which gives his writings a distinctive style of their own.

**The educational scene and the tools of learning.** Even the most illustrious thinkers in the Western Christian world had an ambivalent attitude to the linkage between the ancient intellectual tradition and Christian literature. In the first place, they were reluctant to come out with an unequivocal opinion on the great names of Roman literature, and secondly the new members of the Christian flock wanted simply-written, easily intelligible texts to give them an insight into the symbolisms and deeper meanings of Christian doctrine. Christian writers used passages from ancient literature quite openly, reduced concepts to simple terms and presented other men's ideas as their own.

The consequences of this 'authorial philosophy' were disastrous for original thinking in the Middle Ages, as it encouraged habits of mind prejudicial to true scholarship by continually distorting the thoughts of ancient writers. Constant repetition of isolated passages, quoted out of context to back their own beliefs, was contrary to the spirit of pedagogy. The result was that much of ancient literature survived in the Middle Ages in fragmentary form. The rot had begun to set in during the Late Roman period, for the intellectual nourishment handed down to early medieval teachers and thinkers was a rehash of earlier writings, poorer than the originals in ideas and language. The educational curriculum was based not on Cicero, nor on Varro or Quintilian, but on a Carthaginian orator named Martianus Capella. In his poem *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (*The Wedding of Philolo-*

*New patterns  
of teaching  
and learning*



gy and Mercury, 5th cent.) Capella defined the seven liberal arts, presumably taking Varro as his main source.<sup>60</sup> His geographical knowledge is based not on Strabo, Pliny or Ptolemy but on a mediocre third-century compiler, Julius Solinus, who bequeathed to the Middle Ages a collection of freakish and wonderful phenomena (*The Wonders of the East*).<sup>61</sup> His object in compiling this book was not to present

a dry list of facts but to write an entertaining narrative, using Pliny, Mela and others as his sources. His study of the animal kingdom is not based on Aristotle but drawn from the *Physiologus*, a fourth-century Alexandrian work that was translated into Latin in the fifth century: it was a collection of fables that had nothing to do with science but turned animals into allegorical symbols of human beings.<sup>62</sup> The orators and compilers of that period handed down to the Middle Ages an adulterated culture based on unreliable intellectual tools: mnemonic verses, vocabularies, etymologies and anthologies bristling with mistakes. The kind of learning picked up from such an education is not far removed from propaganda, sometimes intentional and sometimes not.



13. The Rule of St. Benedict. Codex written at Canterbury in the last quarter of the 10th c. in a format suggestive of a diptych and reminiscent of the image of the Ten Commandments. London, British Library (Harley Ms 5431, fos. 6v-7r).

In the Graeco-Roman period, as we have seen, the written word – that is books – played a paramount part in education. To a large extent this approach was due to the existence of well-stocked public libraries, school libraries and other collections of books in all the cities, in both the West and the East. In the Late Roman period, especially after Christianity gained the ascendancy, their role became less important and their



books were read less and less, until eventually the buildings were no longer used as libraries and some of them were demolished.<sup>63</sup>

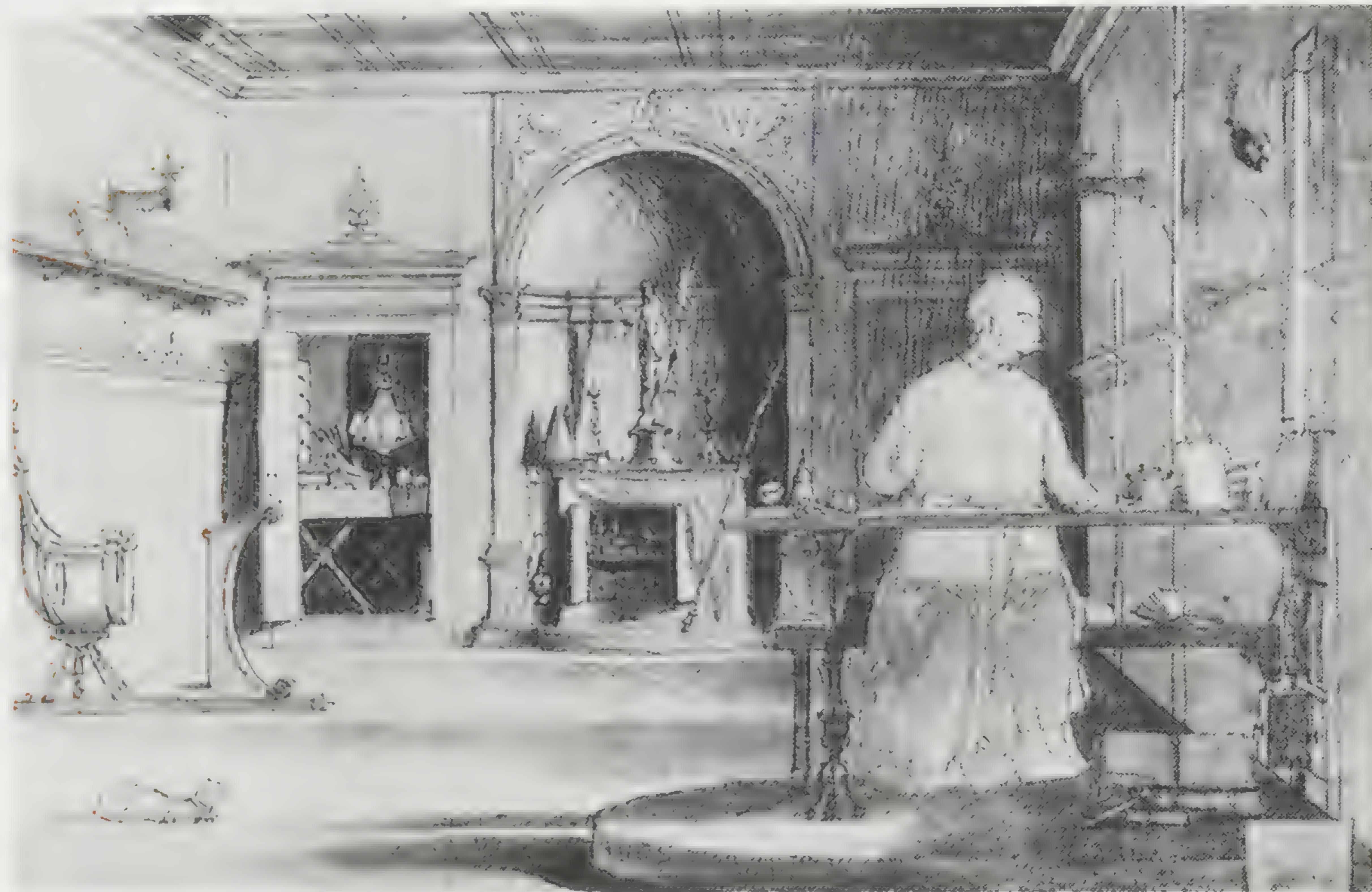
At the opposite extreme from the tools of secular learning was Christian education: *De doctrina christiana*.<sup>64</sup> Its crowning glory is the Bible, which was the basis for more or less the whole of medieval education. But even here there was to be no smooth flow because the original text reached the reader by way of reflecting mirrors, in other words after undergoing material alterations, as the leaders of the Reformation were in the habit of pointing out. Indeed, the Reformers maintained that when they read the original text they felt as if they were discovering the true meaning of Holy Scripture for the first time. The Bible is not easy reading for a simple monk or an uneducated young man: it is heavy with symbolism and requires interpretation at many different levels. For that reason churchmen in their capacity as teachers devised their own keys to the text, using explanatory notes and exegeses which had the effect of taking their pupils further away from the original. Then again, the sheer size of the Bible makes it unsuitable as a classroom textbook, so it was presented to pupils fragmentarily in the form of quotations, sayings, exegeses and notes. This being the case, the pre-eminent sources for medieval Christian thinking were popularizing treatises and poems such as the *Histories Against the Pagans* of Orosius,<sup>65</sup> which deals with Greek and Roman history in parallel, the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius<sup>66</sup> and *The Contemplative Life (De vita contemplativa)* of Julianus Pomerius, who preached total disdain for worldly life.<sup>67</sup>

The writers and theorists of the Christian religion were fully aware of the intellectual backwardness of the Christian faithful and often acknowledged with sorrow that this was inevitable if the faith was to be propagated universally. Caesarius of Arles candidly admits that they did not expect to win recognition from an equally educated audience: 'I therefore ask humbly that learned ears be content to put up with rustic words with equanimity, so that the whole of the Lord's flock may be able to receive spiritual nourishment in simple and – if I may put it that way – pedestrian words. Since uneducated, simple people cannot rise to the heights of scholars, let the learned deign to descend to their level of ignorance.'<sup>68</sup> What is more, to reinforce this stance of his, he himself quotes St. Jerome's advice: 'When teaching in church seek to call forth not plaudits but groans.'<sup>69</sup>

Everything had changed by this time and there was no room for the standards of Roman intellectual life in the circumstances and setting in which they had grown up: the world in which the art of rhetoric and the scientific approach to natural and supernatural phenomena were now dead.



**Christianity and classical learning.** The Western theologians and philosophers who embraced Christianity cannot be said to have adopted a uniform stance towards the Graeco-Roman scholarly tradition. That was a purely personal matter and had to do mainly with Greek philosophy, not with the Roman literary tradition in general. St. Augustine offered the Christians excellent diplomatic advice on the use they should make of ancient culture: they should utilize Graeco-Roman literature in the same way that the Jews utilized the valuables they took away from Egypt. 'If those who are called philosophers, and especially the Platonists, have said aught that is



14. 'The Vision of St. Augustine'. Cartoon by Vittore Carpaccio for his oil painting of that subject. London, British Museum.

true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it, but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it.'<sup>70</sup> A striking case in point is that of St. Jerome, who quotes long passages from the classics as well as the Bible in his work: in a dream he was dragged before the judgment seat of God, who admonishes him sternly, 'Ciceronianus es, non Christianus.'<sup>71</sup> Various expedients were devised to ease the conscience of Christians who studied classical literature: at Cluny Abbey, for example, 'a monk who wanted to consult a manuscript by an ancient author had to scratch his ear with a finger in the style of a dog scratching itself with its paw, "for the pagan is justly compared with this animal".'<sup>72</sup>

The Christians inherited a body of learning that had found expression through



a medium they rejected and opposed. The result was that Christian scholars in Africa as well as Gaul, Italy and Spain displayed an ambivalence towards classical literature not only on a case-by-case basis but in the very attitude of some great thinkers. Philosophical elements were adapted and acquired new connotations in Christian dogma: for example, where Plotinus had emphasized the soul's pre-existence and its ontological kinship with God, Ambrose stressed the idea of creation.<sup>73</sup> In the *Hexaemeron*, too, Ambrose ranks the Scriptures above nature and traces the wisdom of Plato and other philosophers back to the influence of the Bible.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, most theologians and Christian writers in the West had had a Greek education and wrote in Greek, and until the fourth century there existed only a limited number of theological writings in Latin. Consequently, using the tools given to them by their education, especially the art of rhetoric, they preached the superiority of the Christian religion over the values of the Graeco-Roman tradition.<sup>75</sup> Jerome admits that even in the desert he could not bring himself to forgo his library of the classics, and to atone for his sins he frequently repented of having preferred Cicero's style to that of the Church Fathers.<sup>76</sup>

Latin Christian literature from the fifth century onwards was modelled stylistically on earlier Latin works. The Christian poets used classical metres in their poems: Paulinus, a teacher of rhetoric from Bordeaux who died in 431 as Bishop of Nola, studied under Ausonius and wrote Christian poetry following classical models.<sup>77</sup> Besides them, many Early Christian scholars wrote in imitation of Roman literary works. Prudentius (348 – ca. 405), a Spaniard, wrote a number of didactic poems including the *Psychomachia*, an allegory on the conflict between the Virtues and the Vices to decide which of them were to win the human soul.<sup>78</sup> The poetess Proba went so far as to rewrite the story of the Creation as given in the Book of Genesis, writing in hexameters and quoting passages from Virgil's *Aeneid* verbatim.<sup>79</sup> This trend is not typical of Early Christian thinkers, for as late as the seventh century Bishop Isidore of Seville opened his *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi* with a panegyric in praise of Spain using exactly the same words as Tacitus had used of Germany and Virgil of Campania.

Christian thinkers, who rose to dominance in Western intellectual life from the last decades of the fourth century, were faced with a great dilemma: on the one hand they needed the Roman educational system, while on the other they were scandalized by passages from the classics describing erotic scenes or referring to the ancient Roman gods. But Jerome, among others, found a way of reconciling classical studies with faith in God: he simply excised any controversial passages from ancient literature and left those that he thought Christians might learn from.<sup>80</sup>

*The new  
 secular  
 literature*



This internal dispute over whether to accept or reject the study of Roman literature tended towards rejection on the whole, as educated Christians became ever more convinced that such studies were dangerous in themselves. Many believed that Christian literature ought to have nothing to do with pagan models,<sup>81</sup> and St. Augustine himself maintained that the rules of rhetoric and grammar are illuminated quite well enough by Christian writings.<sup>82</sup> The definitive resolution of this dilemma was given by a monk, the only one ever to be elected Pope: Gregory the Great (590-604). Gregory made no attempt to conceal his abhorrence of pagans and during his sojourn in Constantinople as papal nuncio he refused to learn Greek. He banned the teaching of the seven liberal arts in episcopal schools, severing education from the Roman classical tradition at a stroke, for he held that 'the same mouth cannot sound the praises of Jupiter and Christ'.<sup>83</sup> But nothing is ever entirely straightforward: Alcuin, at Charlemagne's court in the late eighth century, reprimanded his monks for enjoying Virgil in private.<sup>84</sup>

In the end, those who advocated the complete separation of Christian writing from the ancient tradition carried the day. Following St. Augustine's line, they argued that any Christian with a good grammar and the Bible in his hand needed nothing else.

**Western Church Fathers and the slant of their writing.** Early works of Latin Christian literature have their roots in the old Latin translations of the Bible, found in biblical passages quoted by the Church Fathers in their own writings. Those of the Fathers who knew Greek presumably made their own translations *ad hoc*, so making it impossible for the Benedictines of Beuron to complete their task of restoring a unified edition of the *Vetus Latina*.<sup>85</sup>

The first Latin Christian books in the West were martyrologies (*Acta Martyrum*), a genre dating back to before the Christian era. The earliest surviving text of this kind written in Latin, the *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*, is in the form of a straightforward report, which gives it an appearance of objectivity. In the narrative of martyrdom each individual's life gains a unique value through the 'imitation of Christ's passion', so laying the foundations of a Christian literature which is in a sense a continuation of the Scriptures.<sup>86</sup> However, the writer who signals the beginning of the Christian Latin literary language is Tertullian, whose path was followed by Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and many others.

15. Gregory the Great. Illumination from a manuscript of his Letters written at St.-Amand Abbey in the second half of the 12th c. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms lat. 2287, fo. Iv).







**Tertullian.** Quintus Septimius Tertullianus was born between A.D. 150 and 170 at Carthage, where he studied rhetoric and even wrote books in Greek which, however, have not come down to us.<sup>87</sup> He trained as a lawyer but also studied philosophy. He spent some time in Rome, married a Christian woman and returned to Carthage for good *circa* 195. Most of his writings reflect teaching catechism and preaching, which implies that he must have been a ‘teacher’ (διδάσκαλος). Being by nature a self-disciplinarian of extreme rigour, he became disgusted with the clergy and therefore turned to Montanism at some time between 202 and 208.



16. Tertullian. Engraving from A. Thevet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*. Paris. 1584. 114.

Eventually his congenital impatience drove him to a form of Christianity based on a strict moral code and he founded a sect of his own. He died at an advanced age, perhaps between 220 and 240.

As already mentioned, Tertullian was the creator of Latin Christian literature, and his writings were influenced by Greek scholars, especially the Greek Christian writers of his own day. He wrote at a time of serious ideological strife: on the one hand the Gnostics were developing their fanciful systems, while on the other Sextus Empiricus was drawing up a policy statement for scepticism. The atmosphere was full of tension and conflict was in the air between the faithful and those trying

to establish scientific backing for the word of God. The Church made use of ideas and tendencies on both sides as weapons to reinforce its position, declaring its opposition to paganism while simultaneously espousing Greek philosophy on the grounds that the Christians were its true heirs.<sup>88</sup>

Tertullian concedes that Christians are at liberty to read pagan literature, but not to use it in their teaching. He considers the philosophers to have been the ‘patriarchs’ of heretics, but he condemns the orators and poets as traitors to truth and morality. He justifies his own use of rhetoric and philosophy on grounds of necessity, for the purpose of rebutting his opponents and convincing others of the right-



ness of his views. He proposes creative assimilation of the ancient poets and philosophers as precursors of Christianity, and in this way he lays the foundations for a first renaissance of the ancient spirit subject to Christian conditions and rules.<sup>89</sup>

**Ambrose.** Aurelius Ambrosius, born at Trier in 339/40 (or 333/4), came of an aristocratic family and was the first Latin ecclesiastical writer whose parents were Christians.<sup>90</sup> He studied first in Rome, where he won renown for his rhetorical brilliance, and then embarked on a political career. While still a young man he was appointed consular prefect (Governor) of Aemilia and Liguria, based in Milan. In 374 he was called upon to restore order in the dispute between Arians and orthodox Catholics over the election of a Bishop of Milan acceptable to both sides; but the outcome was that he was elected bishop himself, even though he had not been baptized. He was instructed in his ecclesiastical duties by Simplician, a churchman well versed in Platonism, and although he remained steadfastly loyal to the Council of Nicaea he succeeded in winning the support of all the clergy, including the heretics. Ambrose was a true leader of the Church, inasmuch as he fought to maintain its independence at a time when it was not financially dependent on the State and opposed any attempt at interference in its affairs. He brought the Church safely through the schism provoked by the Arians, sidelined the pagans and championed the Church's freedom of opinion, in defiance even of the Emperor.<sup>91</sup>



17. St. Ambrose. Engraving from A. Thevet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*. Paris, 1584, 101.

*St. Ambrose's  
learning*

Ambrose had had a sound grounding in the classics, read Greek without difficulty and was therefore extremely knowledgeable about philosophical matters. His reading included Plotinus, Porphyry, the Pythagorean Sextus and much of Plato.<sup>92</sup> As a young man he wrote *De philosophia* and after his elevation to the episcopate he continued to study the theological and hermeneutic groundwork supplied by



Greek sources: Philo, Origen and Basil the Great. Of the Latin authors he liked reading Cicero,<sup>93</sup> whose speeches he drew on for his own sermons, and also Virgil; and he was certainly acquainted with Apuleius's *De Platone*.

Ambrose's ability to present controversial texts in a dogmatically unexceptionable form was instrumental in keeping alive the study of Plotinus and Philo. Augustine was deeply influenced by his thinking, especially by his knowledge of Platonism and his allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament.

**Jerome.** The other great doctor of the Western Church, Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, better known as St. Jerome, was born at Stridon in Dalmatia in 345/348 and was thus a contemporary of Ambrose.<sup>94</sup> He went to Rome at an early age, studied Latin literature under the great grammarian Aelius Donatus and was baptized while he was there. Later he moved to Trier, where he decided to become a monk. He then joined a monastic community in Aquileia, from where he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but illness forced him to stop for some time in Antioch. He then decided to live (for about three years, until 377) as an ascetic in the desert of Chalcis, in eastern Syria, and at the same time he studied to improve his Greek and learnt Hebrew from another monk, a converted Jew.<sup>95</sup>

In Antioch he took lessons in biblical exegesis from Apollinaris of Laodicea and was ordained priest by Bishop Paulinus.<sup>96</sup> At the Council of Constantinople (381) he listened carefully to Gregory of Nazianzus, but he was won over to the side of Origen, some of whose writings he translated. Returning to Rome with Paulinus and Epiphanius of Salamis, he spent three years there and in his capacity as secretary to Pope Damasus he was commissioned to edit and revise the Latin version of the Bible. In Rome he was surrounded by a circle of lay people with an inclination to the ascetic life, including two widowed noblewomen, Marcella and Paula. However, Pope Damasus died in 384 and Jerome paid the price for his criticism of the secular clergy. Not only was he passed over as a candidate for the papacy, but he came under widespread suspicion of immoral behaviour. He therefore left Rome, a disappointed man, and, taking Paula with him, he settled first in Antioch and then in Alexandria. From 386 until his death in 420 he lived at Bethlehem, where, with financial support from Paula, he founded three nunneries and a monastery. In a monastic school he built up a large library at his own expense and gave lessons in classical Latin literature to the sons and daughters of prominent families.<sup>97</sup> Yet even there he did not find the peaceful life he longed for: in the course of the Pelagian controversy a mob of heretics burnt down his convents and the work of destruction was completed by invading Huns, Isaurians and Saracens.

Jerome's  
circle



The Origenist dispute led Jerome to repudiate expressly the posthumous 'smear campaign' against that most illustrious of all Greek ecclesiastical writers, Origen. His writing and publishing practices are of great interest and will be discussed more fully in another chapter.

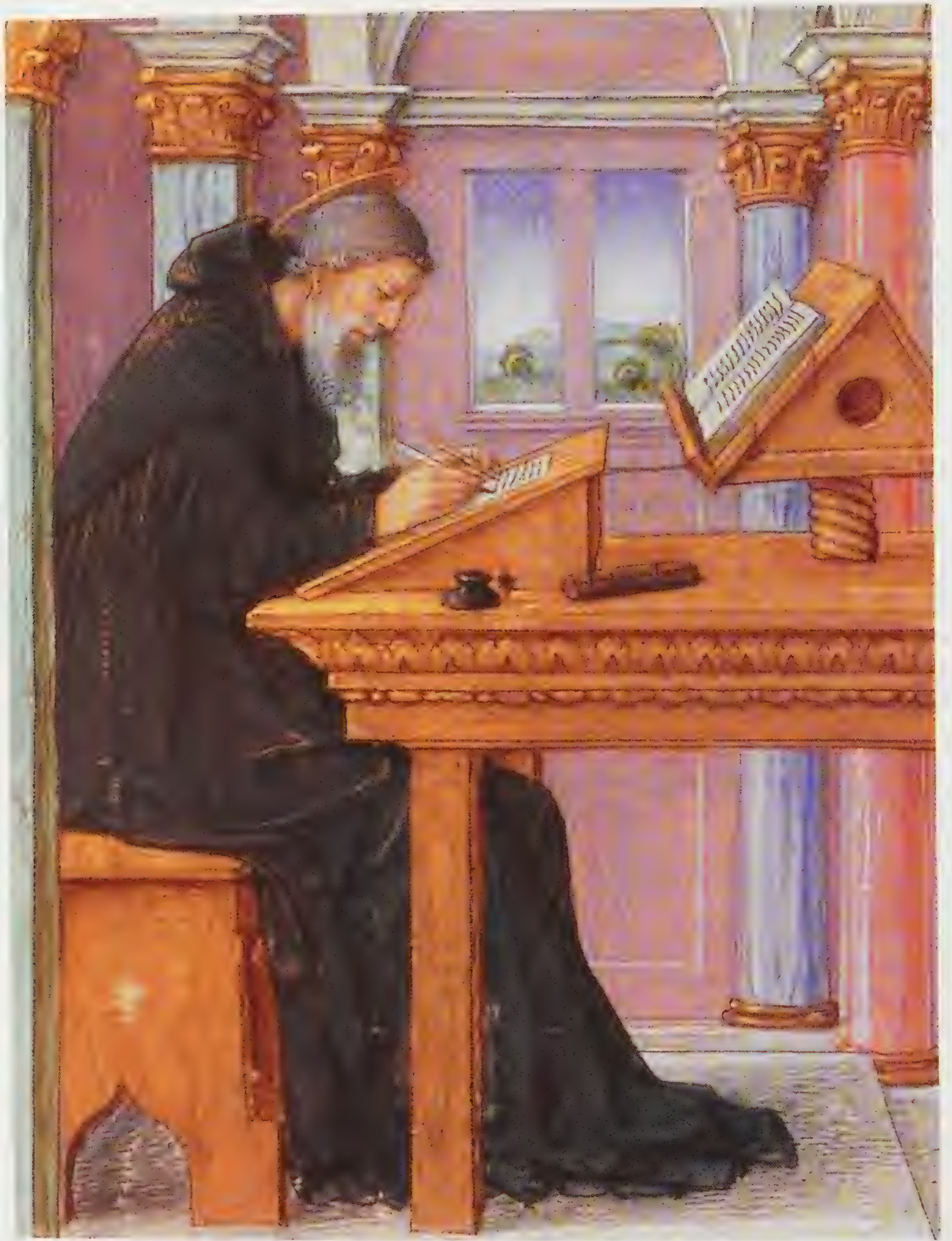
**Books in the service of the Church.** From the early Middle Ages up to about the twelfth century, ecclesiastical centres developed into hubs of the world of books, in terms of both book collecting and book production. The first steps in this direction can be traced back to the pattern of monastic life and the schools and study centres run by monasteries and cathedrals to educate the clergy and others who intended or were destined to make their careers in ecclesiastical circles.



18. St. Jerome working on the translation of the Vulgate. Woodcut from *Biblia vulgarizata*, Venice, L. Giunta, 1490. 6r.

**Early monasticism.** Christianity contains an ascetic element which goes with the requirement that the faithful should shun material amenities. And so, from the earliest years after Christ, more and more lay people chose to retire from the world and live in isolation as hermits in the deserts of Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Towering above all other practitioners of the ascetic life in the fourth century is St. Antony (251-356), a Copt from Egypt.<sup>98</sup> The first monastic rule, actually a set of





19. St. Athanasius in his study. Illumination from the codex of *In epistolas sancti Pauli* in the Latin translation by Cristoforo Persona, 15th c. (1478). Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. lat. 263, fo. 1v).



regulations reinforcing the bishop's authority and requiring monks to perform manual work, was drawn up by St. Basil of Caesarea (ca. 330-379).<sup>99</sup> By this Rule, which was the basis of monasticism in the Eastern Orthodox Church, Basil endeavoured to bring the monasteries under episcopal control, as at that time it was unthinkable to suggest that a distinction could be made between the secular and the regular clergy (i.e. monks, who lived in obedience to a *regula* or rule).

The writings of Eastern eremitic monks and the *Lives* of saints exerted a powerful influence on the evolution of monastic life in the West. The *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (296-373),<sup>100</sup> was widely read; and St. Jerome (ca. 347-420), translating the Bible into Latin, began to spread the ideals of Eastern monasticism in the West.<sup>101</sup> Meanwhile St. Hilary (ca. 315-367) had travelled in the East at the time of the rise of Arianism and became Bishop of Poitiers and subsequently the patron of St. Martin of Tours († 390).<sup>102</sup>

**The Rule of St. Benedict.** In the sixth century Marmoutier Abbey and the abbeys in the Rhone valley were the most famous monasteries in Gaul, among a large number of other monastic centres in the West. As time went on, however, there were two monastic traditions that were of major importance in Western Europe: one was initiated by St. Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480-547), while the other was connected with the Celtic or Irish monastic tradition, which was carried to continental Europe by St. Columbanus (ca. 540-615). Both these orders were guardians and propagators of Christian literature and preserved a number of major works of Roman literature which would otherwise have been lost forever.

St. Benedict was a Roman of imperial descent who renounced his wealth and withdrew to live a hermit's life in a cave south of Rome.<sup>103</sup> After living for a time in conditions of physical deprivation, he came to the conclusion that the answer was not to spend one's life in complete isolation from the world and so he founded a monastery at Monte Cassino. To ensure that the monks' daily life should follow a fixed programme, he drew up a set of regulations which later came to be known as 'the Rule of the Master' and was eventually formalized as the Rule of St. Benedict.

The Rule is notable for its moderation. The monks were not free to go out of the monastery grounds, but nor did they live a life of extreme asceticism. They elected their abbot, who held office for life. They took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and handed over all their private property to the abbey. The primary objective of the Rule was to keep the monks occupied all day long so that they would have no time to be corrupted by worldly things. They had specific duties

Towards  
organized  
monastic life



for every hour of the day: communal prayer, attendance at church services, silent meditation and private reading. Benedict demanded literacy of his monks, but their reading was limited to devotional books.

The Rule of St. Benedict was not originally intended to be the model for monastic life, to be compared with earlier rules. Its wide diffusion was due mainly to Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), who wrote a *Life of St. Benedict* and sent monks

to reconvert the British Isles to Christianity.<sup>104</sup> In the eighth century Anglo-Saxon monks carried the Rule to Frankish Gaul and in 816 it was approved as the official monastic rule for the Western Church.



20. Monks presenting St. Benedict with a book they have copied. Illumination from the Eadui Psalter, written at Christ Church, Canterbury, between 1012 and 1023. London, British Library (Arundel 155, fo. 133r).

**The role of monasteries.** Monasteries were the great cultural centres of the early Middle Ages. They ran schools of arts and crafts, in their scriptoria and libraries they preserved the scholarly tradition, and the monks' agricultural and market gardening work turned each community into a productive unit. Monasteries that had been founded as refuges for over-sensitive individuals who wanted to escape from

the rat-race and live in an atmosphere of simplicity and poverty, following Jesus' example, were soon transformed into wealthy institutions, since many of them were situated in well-watered valleys. Indeed, before long the monasteries were the owners of much of the most fertile land in Europe. Many of them had been founded by powerful princes and large landowners as family concerns, to gain political influence. Because of this the impact of monasticism on the economic and political life of the various regions in medieval Western Europe was relative to the level of their religious and cultural development. What most concerns us here, however, is the role of monasteries in education, in manuscript copying and in the formation of libraries.



**Monasteries as centres of book learning and education.** Not even the large monasteries conformed to a single general rule with regard to education, the subject matter of their manuscript copying and the organization of their libraries. Each community set its own rules, just as every bishop and abbot determined the direction to be taken by education in his own diocese or abbey – which might or might not be followed by his successor. For example, Cassiodorus (485-585) in his monastery, the Vivarium, provided tuition in the seven liberal arts and ordered his monks to make copies of classical texts, but his educational programme lapsed after his death, even in his own monastery. On the other hand, in many monastic schools there was not even systematic instruction in the Scriptures and all reading was done out loud, in accordance with ancient practice. Between these two extremes there were many monasteries with educational programmes where the prevailing attitude was that learning in itself could pose a danger to the pure faith demanded of a monk.

Given these conditions – which applied not only in the period of early monasticism but much later, too, even in famous abbeys such as St. Gallen – there is no point in trying to generalize about the character of monasticism or its role in provincial intellectual life. In the following chapters we shall look more closely at certain monasteries which contributed to the preservation and wider dissemination of books and learning generally.







## NOTES

### I

From Late Antiquity  
to the Early Middle Ages







## NOTES

1. *Bibliothecae unde triginta publicae, ex iis praeaeque duae, Palatina et Ulpia*: see Publius Victor, *De Regionibus Urbis Romae*, edited by P. Mela et al., Venice, *In aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri*, 1518.
2. See Staikos II, 200-203.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus, who spent a long time in Rome, paints a picture of the utter decadence of Roman society in the closing decades of the fourth century: see Amm. Marc., XIV.6.18; Staikos II, 202-203.
4. See M. Testard, 'Observations sur la rhétorique d'une harangue au peuple dans le *Sermo contra Auxentium* de saint Ambroise', *REL* 63 (1985) 193-209.
5. See Kenney and Clausen, 1057-1058.
6. For a fuller discussion of the attitude of Christian thinkers to classical literature, see pp. 26-28.
7. As befitted a true Roman, Ausonius was devoted to the people and things in his immediate environment, as is apparent from the composition of his poem *Mosella*. Cf. the verse letters he wrote to friends such as Symmachus and Paulinus (in Books XVIII and XIX of his complete works). See also p. 27 herein.
8. See J.L. Charlet, *L'influence d'Ausone sur la poésie de Prudence*, Paris 1980; G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman influences in Western literature*, Oxford 1949, 188.
9. See K. Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Darmstadt 1982; T.G. Elliott, *Ammianus Marcellinus and Fourth Century History*, Sarasota Fla., 1983.
10. See C.J. Classen, 'Greek and Roman in Ammianus Marcellinus' *History*', *Mus Afr* 1 (1972) 39-47.
11. Amm. Marc., XXXI.16.9.
12. See A. Momigliano, 'The Lonely Historian Ammianus Marcellinus', *ASNP* 4 (1974) 1393-1407.
13. See G. Viansino, *Studi sulle Res gestae di Ammiano Marcellino*, Salerno 1977.
14. The Fulda manuscript was used by Sigismund Gelenius for the first printed edition, which came from Johann Froben's press in Basel in 1553.
15. For a fuller discussion of Jerome's publishing methods see pp. 53-61.
16. See M.M. Gorman, 'The Diffusion of the Manuscripts of St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* in the Early Middle Ages', *RBen* 95 (1985) 11-24.
17. On Tertullian see pp. 30-31. We have Cyprian to thank not only for rescuing many early works written in Africa from total oblivion but also for ensuring that the intellectual sweep of Tertullian's teaching was passed on to future generations.
18. On the Monastery of the Vivarium and Cassiodorus see pp. 80-84.
19. More generally on this subject, see p. 58.
20. Bλ. C. Norden Falk, 'Book Illumination', in A. Grabar – C. Norden Falk (ed.), *Early Medieval Painting. The Centuries of Painting*, Geneva 1957.
21. On the first Christian writings see p. 28.
22. See p. 80.
23. On the Carolingian period and Charlemagne's contribution to raising educational standards, see p. 144 herein.
24. On the genesis of the new local literature see pp. 245-247.
25. On the evolution of national languages see pp. 244-245.
26. On the founding of the first universities in Europe see pp. 280-283.
27. University library classification systems and



- the ways and means of forming teachers' and students' private libraries are discussed on p. 287.
28. See p. 298.
  29. See E. Demougeot, *L'empire romain et les barbares d'occident*, Paris 1948; Id., *Le phénomène des grands 'invasions'. Réalité ethnique ou échanges culturels, L'anthropologie au secours de l'histoire*, Centre de Recherches Archéologiques, Valbonne, CNRS 1983; F. Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du Moyen-Age*, Paris 1927; N.E. Karapidakis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Δύσης (5ος-11ος αἰ.)*, Athens, Alexandria Editions, 1996; P. Riché and P. Le Maître, *Les invasions barbares*, Paris 1986<sup>3</sup>; R. Folz, A. Guillou, L. Musset and J. Sourdél, *De l'antiquité au monde medieval*, Paris 1972; H.St.L.B. Moss, *The Birth of the Middle Ages*, 395-814, New York, Oxford University Press, 1935.
  30. See Staikos II, 169 (Cic., *Brut.* 65).
  31. For a full account of the Romans' techniques of illuminating papyrus and parchment manuscripts see D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book: Its history and production*, London, Faber and Faber, 1967, 35-59; *Vedere i classici: L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo medioevo*, ed. M. Buonocore, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1996.
  32. See Staikos II, 161-168.
  33. See P. Ariès and G. Duby, *A History of Private Life*, Vols. 1-2, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1986-1988.
  34. See P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris 1948, 389 ff.; E. Delaruelle, 'La connaissance du grec en occident du V<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Mélanges de la société toulousaine d'études classiques* 1 (1946) 207-226.
  35. On Boethius and Cassiodorus see pp. 17 and 80-84 respectively.
  36. On southern Italy and the Orthodox monasteries, libraries and manuscript collectors there, see Staikos III, 285-301. In the seventh century a Greek community formed of migrants from various parts of the Byzantine Empire came into being in Rome and acquired churches and monasteries, one of them being Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Among their other activities, the community's members wrote and distributed Greek religious books. At that time there were Greek manuscripts in the Holy See, especially during the pontificate of Paul I (757-767). See esp. P. Batiffol, 'Librairies Byzantines à Rome', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* VIII (1888) 297-308.
  37. On books derived from the theatre and their circulation in the Graeco-Roman era, see Staikos I, 89-97; II, 38-43.
  38. Sen. *Epist.* 65.16.
  39. A nun at Gandersheim Convent (935-975): see, e.g., J.Y. Tilliette, "'Leçons d'infidélité": Le rapport aux lettres antiques et la création de nouveaux modèles', I. Le Moyen Âge latin, *HFL*, 964.
  40. See F. Castaldelli, *Boezio*, Rome 1974; *Boethius: His life, thought and influence*, ed. M. Gibson, Oxford 1981; E. Reiss, *Boethius*, Boston Mass. 1982.
  41. See F. Solmsen, 'Boethius and the History of the Organon', *AJPh* 65 (1944) 69-74.
  42. See J. Bidez, 'Boèce et Porphyre', *RBPh* 2 (1923) 189-201.
  43. See G. Righi, A.M.S. *Boezio, De syllogismo categorico: Studio sul I libro*, Milan 1984.
  44. See E. Rhein, *Die Dialogstruktur der Consolatio philosophiae des Boethius* (doctoral dissertation), Frankfurt 1963; S. Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue: Literary method in the Consolation of Philosophy*, Princeton 1985.
  45. See P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce*, Paris 1967.



If proof were needed that the *Consolation* was read in the Middle Ages by people of every social class and every ideological persuasion, that fact is amply demonstrated by the corpus of four hundred surviving manuscripts. Its lasting popularity through to the Renaissance is attested by the forty-three incunabular editions of the work, the *editio princeps* being the one printed by Anton Koberger at Nuremberg in 1473.

The *Consolation* has been translated, imitated and commented upon by many great persons: King Alfred translated it into Anglo-Saxon, Chaucer into English, Notker III Labeo of St. Gallen Abbey into Old German, Maximos Planoudes into Greek and Brunetto Latini (who was probably Dante's teacher) into Italian. Edward Gibbon (†1794) called it 'a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully'. See F.A. Payne, *King Alfred and Boethius: An analysis of the Old English version of the Consolation of Philosophy*, Madison Wis. 1968; L. Schrobler, *Notker III von St. Gallen als Übersetzer und Kommentator von Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Tübingen 1953; M. Planoudes, tr. *Ἡ Παραμυθία τῆς Φιλοσοφίας*, critical edition by A.Ch. Megas, Thessaloniki 1996.

46. See pp. 80-84.

47. See Albrecht II. 1720.

48. Out of the extensive literature on Isidore's life and work, especially his *Etymologiae*, see esp.: M.C. Díaz y Díaz (ed.), *Isidoriana: Estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIV centenario de su nacimiento*, León, Centro de estudios 'San Isidoro', 1961; H.J. Diesner, *Isidor von Sevilla und seine Zeit*, Berlin, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [1973]; J. Fontaine, 'Isidoro di Siviglia e la cultura del suo tempo' (seminario isidoriano di Verona, 17-18 Maggio 1978), *Annali: Università di Padova. Facoltà di Economia e*

*Commercio*, ser. 1, vol. 8 (1979) 1-52; *Id.*, 'De Cassiodore à Isidore: Les mutations de l'encyclopédisme antique du VI<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Acta de la Settimana di studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro, Convegno internazionale per il XIV centenario (583-1983)*, Cosenza 1984.

49. See M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI: Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular* (El Albir Universal, 3), Barcelona, El Albir, 1976; H.I. Marrou, *Patristique et humanisme: Mélanges* (Patristica Sorbonensia, 9), Paris, Editions du Seuil, [1976]; R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity (400-1000)* (New Studies in Medieval History), London, Macmillan, 1983; S. Teilhet, *Des Goths à la nation gothique: Essai sur les origines de l'idée de nation*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1984.

50. Most of Isidore's encyclopaedic works were studied at Anglo-Saxon, Spanish, French and Italian universities with the object of compiling a critical edition with translations and notes. The basis for all this research is apparent in M. Reydellet's paper in which he classifies the earliest manuscripts: 'La diffusion des "Origines" d'Isidore de Séville au haut Moyen Age', *MEFR* 78 (1966) 383-437. Reydellet's work was carried on by J. Fontaine and Y. Lefèvre in the series 'Auteurs Latins du Moyen Age', starting in 1981 with the publication of J. André, *Isidore de Séville, Etymologies, livre XVII: De l'agriculture*, A.L.M.A., 1981. The first complete English translation of the *Etymologiae* was published by S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

51. The sixth book of the *Etymologiae*, which bears the title *De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis*, has a lengthy section on libraries ('De



bibliothecis'). It starts with a note on the etymology of the word *bibliotheca*, a 'case' or 'receptacle' for books, using exactly the same wording as Festus has in his *De significatu verborum*, though he does not name his source. Isidore then goes on to discuss Ezra, the priest and scribe connected with Jewish history, as well as the Book of Exodus and other books of the Old Testament. The next paragraph lists the great book collectors of the ancient world, beginning with Pisistratus and recounting the legend of Xerxes' looting of the books from the Acropolis and their discovery and repatriation by Seleucus Nicanor. Isidore quotes passages from the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus, again without identifying the source. Most probably he obtained his material at second hand, as it is fragmentary, unless he considered that in not mentioning Aristotle, the greatest book collector of the Classical period, he was not guilty of any great omission. It is quite possible, of course, that he had access to works unknown to the literary tradition and earlier than the third century; but he makes no mention of Strabo nor of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*.

Isidore's references to the founding of the first libraries in Rome are decidedly perfunctory. He draws on Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VII.30.115) and seems not to have known Varro's *De bibliothecis*: this may have been no longer in existence by his time, since we do not know exactly when it was lost.

52. Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa, was born at an unknown date and died in 651. Nothing is known about his education or the teacher who instructed him in language and literature, but Isidore of Seville regarded him as a pupil and to some extent a supporter of his. In 631 Braulio succeeded his brother John as Bishop of Saragossa,

and his influence on other bishops and the King of Spain was immediately noticeable. See N.A. Weber, 'Braulio, Saint', in *CE II*, 744-745.

53. See G.H. Brown, *Bede the Venerable*, Boston, Twayne, 1987; Benedicta Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, Harrisburg Pa., Morehouse Publishing, 1900; and, more generally, P.H. Blair, *The World of Bede*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1970.
54. See *Bede. Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. C. Plummer: *Venerabilis Baedae...*, 2 vols., Oxford 1896; N.J. Higham, *Re-reading Bede: The Historia Ecclesiastica in English History*, Routledge, 2006.
55. One of these was *De arte metrica*, based on *De pedibus* by Donatus and *De finalibus* by Servius, in which he makes use of examples from Christian poets and Virgil. It was a standard school textbook for centuries to come. See H. Thurston, 'Bede', in *CE II*, 385.
56. See H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols., Paris 1959-1964.
57. See *Wikipedia, Bede (Works)*. In his fifty-ninth year, Bede declared: 'I have endeavoured, for my own use and that of my brethren, to make brief notes upon the holy Scripture, either out of the works of the venerable Fathers or in conformity with their meaning and interpretation.' After this he gives a list (*Indiculus*) of his previous writings and finally concludes his great work with the following words: 'And I pray thee, loving Jesus, that as Thou hast graciously given me to drink in with delight the words of Thy knowledge, so Thou wouldst mercifully grant me to attain one day to Thee, the fountain of all wisdom, and to appear forever before Thy face.'
58. On education in the Roman period see H.I. Marrou, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ*



τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα (= *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*), tr. Th. Fotinopoulos, Athens 1961<sup>5</sup>, 325 ff.; Staikos II, 49-50.

59. This work by Quintilian, which was written at the instigation of his publisher Tryphon and occupied him for two years, was published in about A.D. 94. To emphasize the importance of clarity (*perspicuitas*) as an essential element of good prose, he laid down a set of principles that was recognized and observed in schools for many years. The ideology underlying his educational concept is to produce the perfect orator who is also an upright man. It is Quintilian's aim that orators and teachers should possess not only the techniques of rhetoric but also a good general education, which lends hidden power and a secret resource to everyone who practises the orator's art. In this way rhetoric serves pedagogy and the ethical orientation required of a good education is brought to the fore. See M.L. Clarke, 'Quintilian on Education', in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Silver Latin II: Empire and aftermath*, London 1975, 98-118; E. Fantham, 'Quintilian on Performance: Traditional and personal elements in *Institutio*', *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 243-263.
60. Capella, born and brought up in Carthage in the fifth century, compiled an encyclopaedia in nine books (*De nuptiis*) which he dedicated to his son. The first two books tell the allegorical story of the marriage of Mercury and Philology. As a wedding present, Philology is given the seven Liberal Arts, handmaidens of Mercury. In the remaining seven books (III-IX) each of the Liberal Arts in turn expounds to the gods her particular branch of learning: Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astrology and Music. The ideology promoted by his book is not limited to the encyclopaedic approach typical of

Latin literature but also extends to cosmology, which formed the basis of allegorical narrative in late antiquity.

61. Gaius Julius Solinus lived in Rome and was active in the middle of the third century A.D., when he wrote his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. The book is prefaced by a treatise on man, which is followed by a description of the world. See Albrecht II, 1698.
62. The *Physiologus*, transmitted anonymously, was probably written between the second and fourth centuries A.D. It is a book that might be described as a fusion of Christian symbolism with simplistic paradoxography, continuing a tradition born in Alexandria in that period whose followers include Bolus, Chaeremon and Horapollo, among others.

In forty-eight chapters, each one taking a passage from the Bible as its starting-point, the anonymous author describes weird and wonderful things from the world of animals, especially legendary creatures such as the phoenix and the unicorn. All these tales are presented under the cloak of Christian love and direct the reader's thoughts to the power of the godhead. The book was translated into many languages in the Middle Ages and was used as a sourcebook for the very popular medieval bestiaries.

63. Not one public or other library remained in operation *in situ* in the Middle Ages in either the West or the East. Moreover, all but a very few of the bilingual libraries, that is libraries with separate Greek and Latin sections, became defunct during that period. This institution remained in existence, for an unknown length of time, only in the university library inaugurated by Themistius in the reign of Constantius II: see Staikos III, 29-35; P. Lemerle, 'Ο πρῶ-



τος βυζαντινὸς οὐμανισμός. Σημειώσεις  
καὶ παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση καὶ  
τὴν παιδεία στὸ Βυζάντιο ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχές  
ὡς τὸν 10ο αἰώνα (= *Le premier humanisme  
byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseigne-  
ment et culture à Byzance des origines au  
Xe siècle*), tr. Maria Nystazopoulou-Peleki-  
dou), Athens, MIET, 1981, 56 ff.

64. According to St. Augustine, the basic principle of *De doctrina christiana* was not knowledge of the minutiae of literature or nature but philosophical and theological contemplation of the whole. This demonstrates the interplay between love and knowledge, a process making possible the reversion from the 'eidolon' to the 'primeval image'. See R. Lorenz, 'Die Wissenschaftslehre Augustins', *ZKG* 4, Folge 5, 67 (1955-56) 29-60, 213-251.
65. In the *Historiae adversus paganos*, in seven books covering the period from the creation of the world to A.D. 417, Orosius recounts Greek and Roman history in parallel. Many of the sources he quotes, such as Phanocles, were known to him only at second hand; he is ignorant of the work of many Roman historians; and he quotes passages from others without knowing who their authors were, such as Caesar's *Commentaries*. See T.M. Green, *Zosimus, Orosius and their Tradition: Comparative studies in pagan and Christian historiography*, New York 1974.
66. Prudentius, born in Spain in 348, rose to be an adviser of Emperor Theodosius. He published his works himself at the age of seventy-five. At the core of his oeuvre stands the *Psychomachia*, a full-length allegorical poem in which he seems to be trying to compete with Virgil. It describes six contests in which the protagonists are allegorical figures: Faith, Chastity, Patience, Humility, Hope, Sobriety, Reason and Char-

ity. The Virtues defeat their opposing Vices and finally build a temple which is the home of Wisdom. Augustine and Jerome make no mention of this poem by Prudentius, either for ideological reasons or perhaps simply because it was unknown to them, as his work had only a limited circulation. See H.J. Thomson, 'The Psychomachia of Prudentius', *CR* 44 (1930) 109-112; C. Witke, 'Prudentius and the Tradition of Latin Poetry', *TAPhA* 99 (1968) 509-525; M. Smith, *Prudentius' Psychomachia: A re-examination*, Princeton 1976; S.G. Nugent, *Allegory and Poetics: The structure and imagery of Prudentius' 'Psychomachia'*, Frankfurt 1985.

67. Pomerius probably ran a private school at Arles in the fifth century. In about 530 he gave it up and entered the Church. See M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 4 vols., II, München 1920, 554-556.
68. Caesarius, *Serm.*, LXXXVI, ed. Morin, 353. Caesarius was born in 470 or 471 and died at Arles in 543 after forty years as its bishop. In his many sermons preaching the Word of God he supported the education of monks, and this approach of his soon won him an outstanding reputation as a popular preacher, the first great Christian *Volksprediger*. Most of his sermons have to do with the principles of Christian morals. See M. Ott, 'Caesarius of Arles', in *CE* III, 135-137.
69. Jerome, *Epist.* 52.8.
70. *De doctrina*, II.40.60-61.
71. Jerome, *Epist.* 22.30; more in N. Adkin, 'Some Notes on the Dream of St. Jerome', *Philologus* 128 (1984), 119-126.
72. See J. Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization, 400-1500*, tr. Julia Barrow, Oxford 1988, 114.
73. Plotinus, *Enneads*, I.6.5, I.6.8; Ambrose, *Isaac* 8.79.
74. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, I.28.133-



- 134, I.36.180, II.2.6. See also P. Courcelle, 'Des sources antiques à l'iconographie médiévale de saint Ambroise', in G. Lazzati (ed.), *Ambrosius episcopus*, Milan 1976, 171-199.
75. See generally J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A history of the development of doctrine*, 4 vols., Chicago, University Press of Chicago, 1971-1983.
76. See n. 71.
77. Meropius Pontius Paulinus, born *circa* 355 at Bordeaux, was a pupil and protégé of Ausonius. He was won over to Christianity and was consecrated Bishop of Nola in Campania in 410. He died in 431. See Kenney and Clausen, 962-963.
78. See n. 66.
79. Faltonia Betitia Proba was the granddaughter of Probus, consul in 310, and daughter of Petronius Probianus. No sooner had she been converted to Christianity than she wrote the *Cento virgilianus*, which enjoyed a certain popularity in the Middle Ages. See P. Lejay, 'Faltonia Proba', in *CE* XII, 441; R. Herzog and P.L. Schmidt (eds.), *Handbuch der lateinischer Literatur der Antike*, V, Munich 1989 §562.
80. *Epist.* 57.4. See also H.I. Marrou, *op. cit.*, 428-447; and more generally *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750: The conversion of Western Europe*, ed. J.N. Hillgarth, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
81. See P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, London, Faber & Faber, 1972; Id., *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982.
82. The golden rule for the study of the Scriptures was: *scientia inflat, caritas aedificat* ('Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth', 1 Cor., VIII.1).
83. On Pope Gregory see C.E. Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in imperfection*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988; *Gregory the Great: A symposium*, ed. J. Cavadi- ni, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1995; R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, Cambridge 1997. Pope Gregory himself frankly admits his ignorance of Greek: 'Nam nos nec graece novimus nec aliquod opus aliquando graece conscripsimus' (*Epist.* 11.55). On his attitude to Christians who studied pagan literature and to the ancients in general see *Epist.* 7.27. See also P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare, VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1962, 187-200.
84. See generally pp. 144-146.
85. On translations of the Bible see B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, Freiburg/Basel 1987<sup>8</sup>.
86. For late and secularized forms see D. Sölle, *Realisation. Studien zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Dichtung nach der Aufklärung*, Darmstadt 1973.
87. See R.H. Ayers, *Language, Logic and Reason in the Church Fathers: A study of Tertullian, Augustine and Aquinas*, Hildesheim 1979; T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A historical and literary study*, Oxford 1971 (2nd edn. 1985, revised).
88. The Christians considered themselves the true heirs of Greek philosophy: see W. Krause, *Die Stellung der frühchristlichen Autoren zur heidnischen Literatur*, Vienna 1958, 69, 75, 78.
89. See R. Braun, 'Tertullien et la philosophie païenne. Essai de mise au point', *BAGB* (1971) 231-251.
90. See Albrecht II, 1878-1896; and more generally: F. Homes-Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols., Oxford 1935; *Ambrosius episcopus*, ed. G. Lazzati, Atti del congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della elevazio-



- ne di sant' Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale (1974), 2 vols., Milan 1976.
91. See Albrecht II, 1879; and esp. G. Nauroy, 'Le fouet et le miel: Le combat d'Ambroise en 386 contre l'arianisme milanais', *Rec Aug* 23 (1988) 3-86.
  92. See P. Courcelle, 'Plotin et saint Ambroise', *RPh* 76 (1950) 29-56; *Id.*, 'Nouveaux aspects du Platonisme chez saint Ambroise', *REL* 34 (1956) 220-239. See also P. Hadot, 'Platon et Plotin dans trois sermons de Saint Ambroise', *REL* 34 (1956) 202-220.
  93. See M. Testard, 'Observations sur la rhétorique d'une harangue au peuple dans le *Sermo contra Auxentium* de saint Ambroise', *REL* 63 (1985) 193-209.
  94. See P. Anton, *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Brussels 1968; J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, his Writings, and Controversies*, London 1975; F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme. Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 2 vols., Louvain 1992.
  95. See J.H.D. Scourfield, 'Jerome, Antioch and the Desert: A note on chronology', *JThS* 37 (1986) 117-121.
  96. See O.P. Jay, 'Jérôme auditeur d'Apollinaire de Laodicée à Antioche', *ReAug* 20 (1974) 36-41.
  97. On his library and his publishing activity see p. 53.
  98. See E.C. Butler, 'St. Anthony', in *CE* 1, 553-555; Staikos III, 108.
  99. See Marrou, *op. cit.*, 449. St. Basil drew up his Rule for the monks of the monastery he founded on the banks of the River Iris in Cappadocia: see J.M. Besse, 'Rule of St. Basil', in *CE* II, 322-324.
  100. The *Vita Antonii* was an innovative work and of seminal importance to fourth-century Latin hagiography, as is evident from its influence on Jerome's *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi* and *Vita Hilarionis*: see H. Kech, *Hagiographie als christliche Unterhaltungsliteratur. Studien zum Phänomen des Erbaulichen anhand der Mönchsviten des hl. Hieronymus*, Göttingen 1977.
  101. The *Vita Antonii* was translated into Latin by a writer friend of Jerome's, Evagrius of Antioch, and was the guiding light of his spiritual life.
  102. See J. Fontaine, 'La nascita dell'umanesimo cristiano nella Gallia romana', *RSLR* 6 (1970) 18-39; E. Watson, *The Life and Writings of St. Hilary of Poitiers*, Oxford 1899.
  103. St. Benedict was born into an aristocratic family at Nursia in about 480 and died at the Abbey of Monte Cassino in 543. He renounced the world and withdrew to a cave south of Rome, subjecting himself to physical deprivation. Before long a circle of followers had gathered round him, which caused him to look for a new home in a different environment. He therefore decided to found a monastery at Monte Cassino, which he organized according to a set of rules allocating specific daily activities to the monks. The earliest and only authentic account of his life is the one given by Gregory the Great in the second book of his *Dialogues*. See H.E. Ford, 'St. Benedict of Nursia', in *CE* II, 467-472.
  104. The Rule of St. Benedict has been the foremost code of conduct governing the monastic life in Europe, both for what it says about monastic organization and in terms of the extent of its adoption. We do not know exactly when it was drawn up, nor whether the Rule in its present form was written all in one period or has been adapted to meet changing needs over the centuries. Be that as it may, it was almost certainly written by Benedict *circa* 530, probably at Monte Cassino. Tradition has it that when the abbey was sacked by the Lombards in 581 the monks fled for refuge to Rome, taking one copy of the Rule with



them. In the mid eighth century Benedict's autograph of the Rule was in the Pope's library. Pope Zachary (741-752) presented that manuscript to Monte Cassino Abbey in the middle of the eighth century, shortly after the abbey was restored.

When Charlemagne visited Monte Cassino he showed great interest in the Rule

and asked the monks to make a careful transcript of it for him, to serve as an exemplar for the monasteries in his empire. Several copies were made from Charlemagne's manuscript, one of which – made for the Abbey of Reichenau – is now in the library of St. Gall Abbey (Cod. 914). See G. Cyprian Alston, 'Benedict, Rule of Saint', in *CE* II, 436-441; see also p. 176 herein.

CHAPTER I  
*From Late  
Antiquity to the  
Early Middle Ages*







## II

# NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE METHODS OF BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION





1. St Jerome in his study, surrounded by manuscripts, extracting a thorn from a lion's paw. Detail from an oil painting by Niccolò Colantino, dated circa 1450. Naples, San Giorgio Schiavoni.



## NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE METHODS OF BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

### *The Role of Monastic Libraries and their Intellectual Range*

**S**t. Jerome: his writing, publishing and ‘marketing’ of books. Besides being a staunch advocate of the importance of a good private library to every scholar, Jerome gives us a good deal of information about the way he organized his authorial activities, in which he maintained standards of quality control not far short of the most up-to-date practices of our own time.<sup>1</sup> In the first place, he evidently had comfortable private means, probably thanks to Marcella, Paula and their circle,<sup>2</sup> which meant that he was able not only to buy books but even to send people abroad on missions to copy out works he did not have in his collection and bring them back to him. For example, he had no hesitation in asking his friend Florentinus to go to the library of ‘the Monastery of Jerusalem’ (presumably the library that must have existed in the compound of the Holy Sepulchre) and copy some books that he did not have.<sup>3</sup>

It was in 386, when he settled permanently at Bethlehem and devoted his time to writing, that Jerome really made a start on his great authorial projects, for which he used a variety of publishing procedures and practices. He seldom put pen to paper himself: usually he dictated to stenographers (*notarii*), who passed the material on to scribes, and then he would make the necessary corrections, which were entered in the final text by other scribes.<sup>4</sup> Even his letters and other treatises which he wrote out in his own hand were subjected to careful editorial scrutiny before reaching the hands of their eventual purchasers. His *Letters* exemplify all these methods of composition and reproduction and show evidence of the involvement of persons who helped to bring the books on to the market in East and West, either as patrons or as booksellers: the first link in this publishing chain was the *notarius*.

**The notarius.** Stenography was a profession regulated by law in the early years of Christian literature: in fact Diocletian, in his Edict on Maximum Prices of 301, set a ceiling on the fees chargeable by stenography teachers.<sup>5</sup> St. Augustine, in *De*



*doctrina christiana*, wished to classify shorthand writing as being on a par with original writing and other arts and crafts.<sup>6</sup> Stenographers were paid for their work, as we know from the generous gesture of St. Ambrose, who paid at least seven *notarii* and the same number of copyists on Origen's behalf to enable the latter to carry on with his research or his writing.<sup>7</sup>

The stenographers wrote what was dictated to them on tablets, working at an extremely fast rate according to the testimony of Jerome, who says in his preface to the Book of Tobias (Tobit) that the whole book was dictated in one night.<sup>8</sup> Obviously their work rate depended not only on their own skill but also on the way the text was dictated. Jerome tells us that Origen's *notarii* deserve to be honoured: the Greeks are described as 'having hearts of brass' (χαλκέντεροι) and exciting our admiration for their great feat of writing more lengthy books than any of us could so much as copy out by hand.<sup>9</sup> And in a letter to Pammachius he muses, 'Which of us can read all that Origen has written?'<sup>10</sup>

There was no one standard shorthand code used by all *notarii*: they employed different systems, perhaps depending on their writing speed. The writing surface most commonly used for taking shorthand notes was the wax tablet.<sup>11</sup>

**The scribe.** The tablets containing shorthand notes were passed on by the *notarius* to a scribe, who would have had two or three years' training in his profession and would be able to write correctly, being well versed in grammar and having a proper awareness of the importance of his job.<sup>12</sup> For his own writings, once he had gone to live in the desert, Jerome employed protégés (*alumni*) of his as scribes: most probably they were men he had trained in Antioch.<sup>13</sup> Just how important he considered their copying work is apparent from a passage in *De viris illustribus*: 'I adjure you whosoever shall transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious advent at which He shall judge the quick and the dead, that you diligently compare, after you have transcribed, and amend it according to the copy from which you have transcribed it and also that you shall similarly transcribe this adjuration as you find it in your pattern.'<sup>14</sup>

The desired outcome of this whole process was quite simply to end up with a reliable copy, for the benefit not only of the book's owner but of the literary tradition generally.

**Copyists' errors.** From as early as the preclassical era, errors of transcription in the making of successive copies of a written work caused historical facts to be distorted and led to misinterpretations which bedevil the Muse of History to this very



day. The text of the Bible is no exception and the copyists were not breaking fresh ground: Jechoniah became Joachim and Dimon was renamed Dibon. Worse still, when the scribe did not understand what he was writing he would add or alter words or improvise, doing whatever he thought was necessary to clarify the meaning of the text, so that factual errors and misinterpretations crept in.<sup>15</sup> Copyists in monastic scriptoria often succumbed to the tedium of routine and worked mechanically, with the result that the Gospels became scrambled almost beyond recognition. To make matters worse, the guilty copyists would then blame the authors themselves for the progressive textual corruption of the Gospels and patristic writings.

**Checking for errors.** Jerome was well aware that he could not afford to leave himself open to attack by his critics by entrusting his stenographers and copyists with sole responsibility for the accurate rendering of what he dictated, so as a general rule he would follow a standard checking procedure. He himself made a first check when he had finished dictating, either from the stenographer's tablets or from a better copy on papyrus. When this was done, he passed on the corrected text to his secretaries (*amanuenses*) to be recopied. Jerome attached great importance to this first check: 'Unless [the text] is smoothed and polished by the hand of its author, it is not bright, it does not have gravity mixed with beauty, but ... it is more censured by its riches than adorned by them.'<sup>16</sup> Even the greatest writers, who have produced well-regarded examples of their literary talent, should not rely on their experience and style. All writings should be edited carefully and conscientiously by the authors themselves.' The manuscript copied from the stenographer's tablets was then rechecked in the author's presence, and after careful collation a new, fair copy was made. But even then further corrections and improvements would be made, and not a few writers tried to trace and retrieve all copies of their work already in circulation in the market in order to enter fresh emendations: the worst penance that can be forced on a writer is to have to 'sing a palinode after the manner of Stesichorus'.<sup>17</sup>

*Editing*

**The exemplar.** This was the term Jerome used to denote the final master copy from which all other copies were made for publication.<sup>18</sup> The exemplar, in other words, was considered the author's authentic, original text, as it is extremely doubtful whether the multiple copies made from it were edited and corrected with equal care. The most authentic manuscript was always the one with the author's own notes in the margins or at the end of the book, attesting to his final emendations.



**Publishing.** The process of publishing a book in Jerome's day did not exactly conform to what we understand by publishing nowadays. Before a book was made available to the general public it went through a pre-publication stage, *pro manuscripto*.<sup>19</sup> The first essential was for the author to decide to publish his work, a decision which he followed up by sending copies to friends, expecting to get an idea of how it would be received by the public and hoping also that in return his friends would tell him what reservations they had about it and perhaps make suggestions for possible improvements. However, not all writers followed this sequence: St. Augustine, for example, equates publication with the sending-out of the first copies when he admits he is reluctant to send out or publish his works;<sup>20</sup> and Symmachus likewise holds that once a writer has seen fit to send one of his treatises to a friend it belongs to the public, and consequently the author has absolutely no rights over it.<sup>21</sup>

The initial 'publisher' was merely the first link in a chain extending *ad infinitum* through space and time, unless the 'publisher' was the author himself. Jerome informs us that when St. Mark had written his Gospel he gave it to St. Peter, who then distributed it to the public; but such statements referring to works by earlier authors cannot be proved.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, Jerome openly accuses Rufinus of publishing a book actually written by Eusebius, who was suspected of heresy, and falsely attributing it to the martyr Pamphilus so that it would be accepted unquestioningly by the public.<sup>23</sup> Jerome also writes about the question of new editions, which are no more than alterations made by the copyists unless the new edition happens to be the work of the author himself, as in the case of Jerome's second version of the Book of Job, based this time on a Hebrew manuscript.<sup>24</sup>

**Copyright.** The publishing practices prevailing in Jerome's time, especially the distribution of books by irresponsible, unauthorized persons, left writers at the mercy of those unscrupulous dealers. Here we are obviously not referring to those who acknowledged the authorship of the books they published but to those who did their utmost to conceal their sources, in pursuit of their own interests or those of third parties.<sup>25</sup>

**Marketing.** Jerome's position on the issue of publishing books is encapsulated in his aphorism, 'We do not write books to keep them hidden.' But how was this desideratum to be interpreted in the Christian period?

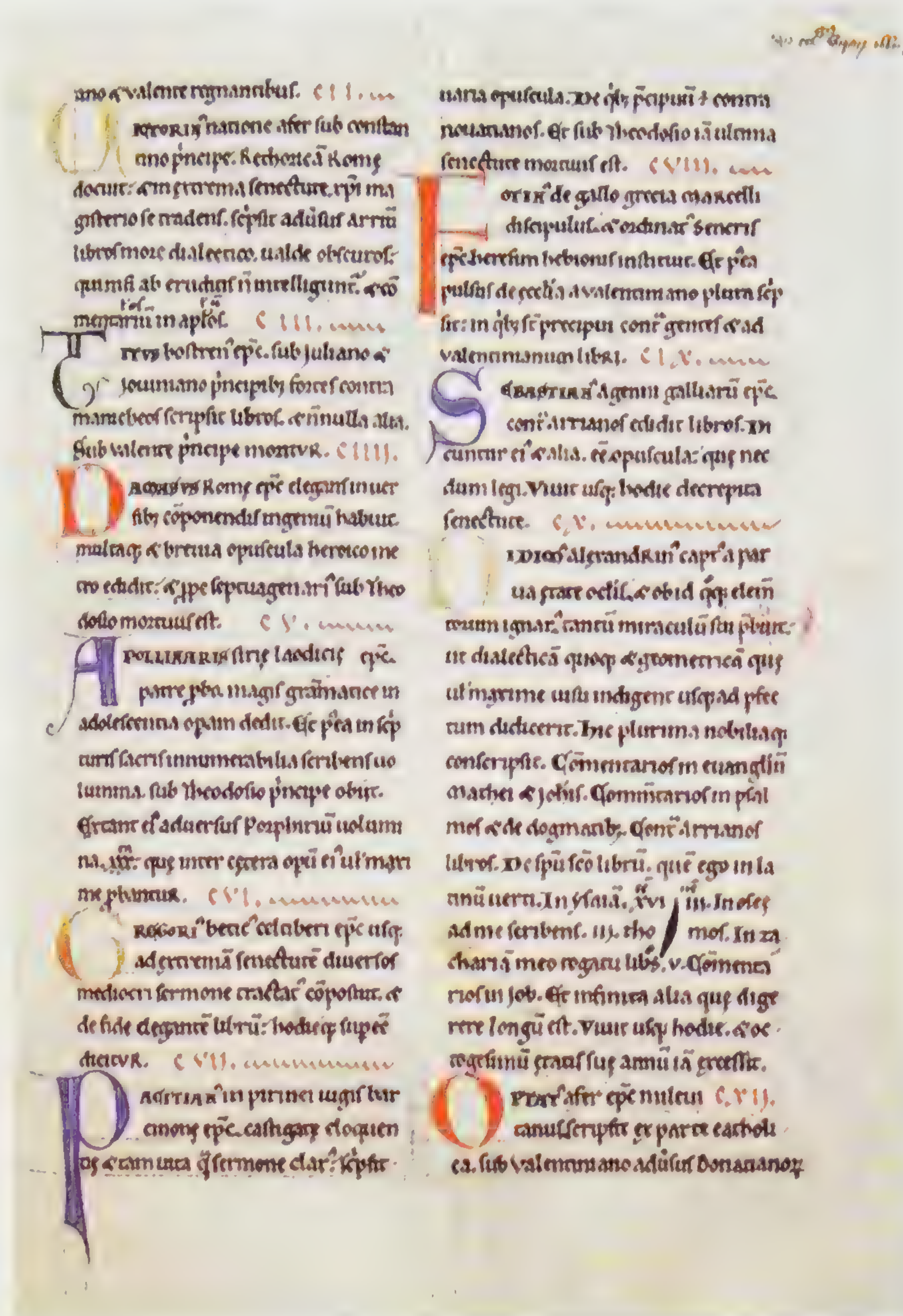
The practice of giving public readings, which had been an established form of everyday entertainment in the early Roman Empire, especially in Rome, was still



alive and well.<sup>26</sup> It meant that the public made its first contact with a new written work at a public reading. But these were difficult times and no one could be sure what the effect of such a reading might be. Apollonius the Apologist, for example, who wrote an important work on philosophy, gave a reading of it to the Senate before having it made up in book form, with the result that he met a martyr's death.<sup>27</sup>

In the final analysis, the person responsible for choosing the first recipient of a book and deciding on the best way of channelling it to the general public by way of the first recipient was none other than the author himself. His friends, disciples and followers would then take it upon themselves to set up a protective barrier round him if any danger should arise. And when Rufinus accused Eusebius of Cremona of stealing his manuscript before he had finished revising it, Jerome reminded him of the important contribution made by an author's friends to the dissemination of his books, a factor of which Rufinus was well aware since his friends had set in motion the flow of his published works from East to West.<sup>28</sup> How much more this would have been true when the friends were people of ample means such as Paulinus of Nola and Marcella, which would have created better conditions for the diffusion of the books.<sup>29</sup>

There were numerous methods and practices in use for giving notice of new books to the general reading public, and one those, much favoured by Jerome, was to reproduce whole passages from other



2. St Jerome, *De viris illustribus*. Codex copied at Westminster Abbey, mid 12th c. London, British Library (Royal Ms 5. B. viii, fo. 16r).



writers in his own works. He does give the names of all the authors concerned (Origen, Theodore of Heraclea, Didymus, Alexander the Heretic), but without giving specific bibliographical references in each case; and sometimes he inserts comments of his own. Not for nothing is Jerome known as one of the great plagiarists of the ancient world.<sup>30</sup>

If Orosius is to be believed, Jerome was a very popular writer in his own lifetime: all over the West, people awaited the arrival of his next book as if it were the Golden Fleece; and according to Postumianus his works were read in all parts of the world.<sup>31</sup> But reality does not always conform to legend, for in 404 the correspondence between Jerome and Augustine had not been published or even circulated among their friends, and Jerome's *Apologia*, written in 401, was still unknown to Augustine in 404.<sup>32</sup>

**Agents and consignees.** The parties who acted as agents for an author's books were not just booksellers: many of them were more like literary patrons. Not only did they give the authors monetary assistance and promote the sale of their work, but they would also offer moral support by passing on praise from the authors' readers and disciples.

One who played a crucial part in disseminating Jerome's books and setting up a network covering many Western centres of learning was Paulinus of Nola.<sup>33</sup> Paulinus, a nobleman from an enormously wealthy family who was converted to Christianity with his wife, was a pupil and friend of Ausonius and, according to Augustine, an authority on Platonism. Motivated by his love of literature (he was a poet himself), his faith in education and his generosity, he set up a publishing business with branches in other cities, handling books by Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus and probably other writers too, in addition to his own works.<sup>34</sup> Apparently his was not the only publishing concern then in operation, as Jerome's adversary Rufinus, who was known to Jerome and is mentioned in his writings, had bookselling agencies all over the world.<sup>35</sup>

**Ad hoc publishing.** There is an anecdote about 'publishing' that vividly illustrates the way things might sometimes turn out in the bilingual Christian world of East and West. Bishop Epiphanius sent a strongly critical open letter to John, Bish-

Paulinus of Nola.  
Jerome's patron

3. St Jerome, Psalms. Manuscript codex with two of his three Latin editions of the Psalms, the Gallican and the Hebrew ('iuxta hebraicos'), written in two columns. Early 13th c. Private collection.





in consilio impiorum: in uia peccatorum non staret: in cathedra pesti-  
et in lege domini uoluntas eius: **N**omen non sedet.  
in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.  
Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus  
aquarum: quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo.  
Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia quaecumque faciet prosperabunt.  
Non solum in se: sed tanquam pulvis quem praeueniat a facie cere.  
Ideo non relinquet impius iudicio: neque peccator in calce iustorum.  
Qui nouit dominum uiam iustorum: et iter impiorum peribit.  
**Q**uare tremuit gentes: et populi meditati sunt inania.  
Alti tunc reges terrae: et principes conuerterunt in  
unum: aduersus dominum et aduersus christum eius.  
Dirumpamus uinctula eorum: et precipiamus a nobis iugum ipsorum.  
Qui habereat in oculis iridebit eos: et dominus subannabit eos.  
Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua: et furor eius turbabit eos.  
Ego autem conuertamur sumus: et ex eo super hyem montem  
sanctum eius: predicamus preceptum eius. Quia non est.  
Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es: et ego hodie genui te.  
ostula a me et dabo tibi: et hereditatem tuam: et possessionem tuam.  
Reges eos in iuga ferrea: et tanquam uas figuli confringet eos.  
et nunc reges intelligite: erudimini qui iudicatis terram.  
Seruite domino in timore: et exultate ei cum tremore.  
Ipse benedixit discipulam nequam: et ualeat dominus: et peccata sua facit.  
Cum exarsit in ira tua: et beati omnes qui confidunt in eo.  
**D**icit quod multiplicata sunt  
hostes mei: multi surgunt aduersum me.  
Multi dicunt anime mee: non est salus ipsi in deo eius.  
Tu autem domine suscepisti me: et gloria mea: et exaltasti caput meum.  
Vox mea ad dominum clamabo: et gaudium meum de monte sancto suo.  
Ego dormiui et soporatus sum: et exurge: quia dominus suscepit me.  
Non timebo milia populi: et circumdami me: exurge domine  
ne saluum me fac dominus meus. Expectatori contemniunt.  
Quia tu percussisti omnes aduersarios in sine causa: dentes  
in eis salus: et super populum tuum benedictio tua.  
**4** **C**uius in uocem gaudiunt me domine  
iustitiae mee: in tribulatione dilatasti michi.  
Misere mei: et gaudio orationis meae. Quia quoniam mendacium  
in uerbo hominis usque graui corde: ut quod diligit uanitatem.  
Et latet quoniam in mendacium: et scilicet: et gaudium meum et clamatio ad  
iustitiam: et nolite peccare: quod dicitur in cordibus uirorum: et in ci-  
uitatibus uirorum compungimini. Quis ostendit nobis bona?  
Sacrificauit sacrificium iustitiae: et sperare in domino: multi dicunt  
ignati: et si nos lumina uultus eius: et delectatio letitia in corde meo.  
Afructu frumenti: unum et oleum sunt multiplicata sunt.  
In pace in idipsum: dormiam et requiescam.  
Quia tu domine: singulariter in specula struisti me.  
**5** **U**erba mea aures per-  
cipere domine: intellige clamorem meum.  
In uocem orationis meae: et ex me: et deus meus.

in consilio impiorum: in uia peccatorum non staret: in cathedra  
et in lege domini uoluntas eius: **P**estilentia non sedet.  
in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.  
Et erit tanquam lignum transplantatum iuxta riuulos aque-  
rum: quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo.  
Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia quod faciet prosperabunt.  
Non solum in se: sed tanquam pulvis quem praeueniat a facie cere.  
Propterea non relinquet impius iudicio: neque peccator in calce iustorum.  
Qui nouit dominum uiam iustorum: et iter impiorum peribit.  
**Q**uare tremunt gentes: et principes meditati sunt inania.  
Conuerterunt reges terrae: et principes conuerterunt pa-  
rimus: aduersus dominum et aduersus christum eius.  
Dirumpamus uinctula eorum: et precipiamus a nobis iugum eorum.  
Qui abstraxerit in oculis iridebit eos: et dominus subannabit eos.  
Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua: et furor eius turbabit eos.  
Ego autem conuertamur sumus: et ex eo super hyem montem sanctum  
eius: annuntio ab ore preceptum. Quia non est.  
Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es: et ego hodie genui te.  
Postula a me et dabo tibi: et hereditatem tuam: et possessionem tuam.  
alios in iuga ferrea: ut uas figuli confringet eos.  
Tunc ego reges intelligite: erudimini iudices terrae.  
Seruite domino in timore: et exultate ei in tremore.  
Ipse benedixit pure ne forte irascatur dominus: et peccata de uia iusta.  
Cum exarsit per paululum furor eius: beati omnes qui confidunt in eum.  
**D**icit quod multiplicata sunt  
hostes mei: multi surgunt aduersum me.  
Multi dicunt anime mee: non est salus hunc in deo.  
Tu autem domine duxisti me: et gloria mea: et exaltasti caput meum.  
Vox mea ad dominum clamabo: et gaudium meum de monte sancto suo.  
Ego dormiui et soporatus sum: et exurge: quia dominus suscepit me.  
Non timebo milia populi: et circumdami me: surge do-  
mine saluum me fac dominus meus. **P**riorum confregisti.  
Quia percussisti omnia inimicorum maxillam: dentes in  
domini est salus: et super populum tuum benedictio tua.  
Huocant me  
gaudi me deus iustitiae mee: in tribulatione dilatasti.  
Misere mei: et gaudio orationis meae. **Q**uoniam in mendacium  
in uerbo usque idem magnanimitate diligit uanitatem.  
Et cognoscit quoniam mirabile rectitudo scilicet suum: et gaudium meum et clamatio ad  
loquimini in cordibus uirorum super ciuitates uestras et caetera.  
Sacrificauit sacrificium iustitiae: et fidere in domino: mul-  
ti dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona?  
Letia si nos lumina uultus tuum: domine letitia in corde meo.  
In tempore frumentum: unum eorum multiplicata sunt.  
In pace: simul requiescam et dormiam.  
Quia tu domine specialiter: securum habere fecisti me.  
**U**erba mea audi  
domine: intellige murmur meum.  
In uocem orationis meae: et ex me: et deus meus.





4. 'The Vision of St. Augustine'. Fresco by Sandro Botticelli, painted circa 1480 for the Vespucci family. Florence, Chiesa degli Ognissanti.



op of Jerusalem, which created a great stir among the people of Palestine. Eusebius of Cremona, who was then in Bethlehem and enjoyed arguments, wanted to read the letter, but in Latin, because he knew no Greek. Jerome agreed to translate it for him, writing his Latin version by the side of the Greek. His poor eyesight made it difficult for him to translate the letter and compelled him to dictate his words to a scribe, which compromised the reliability of the resulting translation. Consequently the Latin version was little better than a paraphrase: certainly it was not up to the standard required for publication, for it was intended only to convey the gist of the letter to Eusebius.<sup>36</sup> Eighteen months later Jerome's translation surfaced again in Jerusalem, the scene of the crime. Someone passing himself off as a monk, either bribed or actuated by malice, undertook to give Jerome's opponents material to use against him; and that is just what they did.<sup>37</sup>

**St. Augustine's 'library'.** Under the heading of St. Augustine's 'library' we shall be looking into matters relating to the written works in Augustine's possession and the books or libraries to which that great thinker had access for the completion of his multifarious self-imposed task of reconciling the ancient intellectual heritage with the Christian faith as far as possible. This line of approach is also connected with the fact that we have no information concerning libraries in Rome in the late fourth century, while there were no monastic libraries in existence by that time apart from a collection in the Lateran that is mentioned only occasionally.<sup>38</sup> However, there was certainly a substantial and extremely interesting corpus of written works available to men of letters, scholars and literary patrons such as Marcella and Paulinus, Bishop of Nola; but few particulars are known and much of what we do know is based on inference.<sup>39</sup>

Augustine was born at Thagaste, Numidia, in 354 and died as Bishop of Hippo in 430.<sup>40</sup> He studied grammar at Madaura and rhetoric at Carthage and then worked first as a *grammaticus* in his home town and from 376 as a teacher of rhetoric in Carthage. Early in 380 he moved to Rome, where his mind was awakened to the spirit of philosophical speculation. The anthropomorphic features of the God of the Old Testament offended him, and he sought answers to his questions in the beliefs of the Manichaeans and the words of their bishop, Faustus. A crisis that afflicted him after his deliberate break with his mother led him towards Academic scepticism. Leaving his circle of friends and fellow-students, he went north and settled in Milan on the advice of Symmachus. There he obtained a high-level academic post as a teacher of rhetoric and listened with great interest to Bishop Ambrose's sermons, which brought him into contact with Neoplatonism. In St.



Paul's Epistle to the Romans he found an answer to his search for the true meaning of life, gradually withdrew from the world and was baptized by Ambrose. He then spent another year in Rome, after which he joined a coenobitic community of like-minded souls where he lived the life of an ascetic philosopher. A chance event led to his being ordained priest at Hippo, where he was appointed coadjutor to the bishop, probably in 396, and succeeded him on the episcopal throne in 397.

Augustine's writings can be divided into three main periods. The first, in which he followed a specific intellectual orientation, ran from about 386 to 396, most of it in Milan. In the second, from the time of his settlement at Hippo to 412, most of his works were connected with his episcopal role and his new duties. The last period (412-430) was dominated by his campaign against the Pelagians and the composition of his monumental work *De civitate Dei*.

In his *Retractationes*, a review of his earlier writings completed in 427, Augustine mentions 93 works contained in 232 'books'. To that total we have to add the works written after 427 and the numerous letters and sermons he wrote before his death in 430.

While a schoolboy at Thagaste and even more while a student in Carthage, Augustine must have acquired his first textbooks, which of course he could easily get from Carthage's great library.<sup>41</sup> His book *De magistro* (a dialogue with his son Adeodatus on teaching and learning) dates from that period, as do the six books of *De musica*.

It is from his years in Milan that we have the first indication of specific books that Augustine had in his possession: The consul Flavius Mallius Theodorus<sup>42</sup> gave him some books of Neoplatonist philosophy translated into Latin by Marius Victorinus;<sup>43</sup> they were probably treatises by Plotinus and Porphyry and they made a deep impression on him, as did Bishop Ambrose's sermons on Neoplatonism.<sup>44</sup> He wrote dialogues clearly influenced by this philosophical environment and polemics against the Manichaeans and also worked on his exegetical commentaries on the Psalms and St. Paul's Epistles. At that time he had already fallen under the spell of Cicero's *Hortensius*,<sup>45</sup> as already mentioned, and his gaze was now directed towards philosophical ideas; and, of course, he had read some of Aristotle's works in Latin translation.

From his polemics against the Manichaeans – many of which he started writing in Milan and continued in Rome in 390, while others were written at Hippo – it can safely be inferred that he possessed a fair number of the writings of Mani and his followers, to enable him to rebut their propositions and beliefs and uphold the authority of the Old and New Testaments. In a letter to Romanianus (*Epist.*,



4.1) written in 390, Augustine mentions the bookshop of a certain Majorinus and tells Romanianus that the only one of Cicero's works he can find is *De oratore*.

We may be sure that the books in Augustine's possession included works in all the fields covered by his own writings, namely apologetics, dogmatics and polemics (against the Priscillianists, Origenists, Donatists, Pelagians and Arians). We also know that he had in his library works by other Western Church Fathers and by Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History, Chronicle*), as well as the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Ticonius.<sup>46</sup> Evidence concerning the organization and enlargement of Augustine's library is to be found in his correspondence with Jerome, where there are references to works of Christian literature by his contemporaries: he admits he has not read all Jerome's works,<sup>47</sup> but in so saying he implies that he possesses many of them and has borrowed others, such as *De viris illustribus*: this we know he borrowed from someone who told him that he did not know the title but thought it was Jerome's *Epitaphium*. Augustine read the book and wrote to tell Jerome that he had received it, confirming that the scribe had indeed omitted to write the title on the title page (*liminari pagina*).<sup>48</sup> In another letter Augustine writes that he has now read both Jerome's Latin versions of the Book of Job and is sad to see that Jerome has not been nearly so scrupulous about putting in editorial marks in the second version, translated from the Hebrew, as he had been in the



5. St. Augustine disputes against Felicianus. Manuscript illumination in a codex of various writings by the three great Western Church Fathers, Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose. Mont-Saint-Michel, 2nd half of the 11th c. Avranches (Ms 72, fo. 97).



first, done from the Greek.<sup>49</sup> In a letter to Optatus he asks for a copy of one of the latter's works which a presbyter of his claimed as his own work.<sup>50</sup> As regards his own books, it appears that Augustine entrusted their publishing and marketing to Firmus, who kept an archival library with copies of all Augustine's polemics against heretics and other writings on the Christian faith, as he tells Paulinus in a letter.<sup>51</sup>

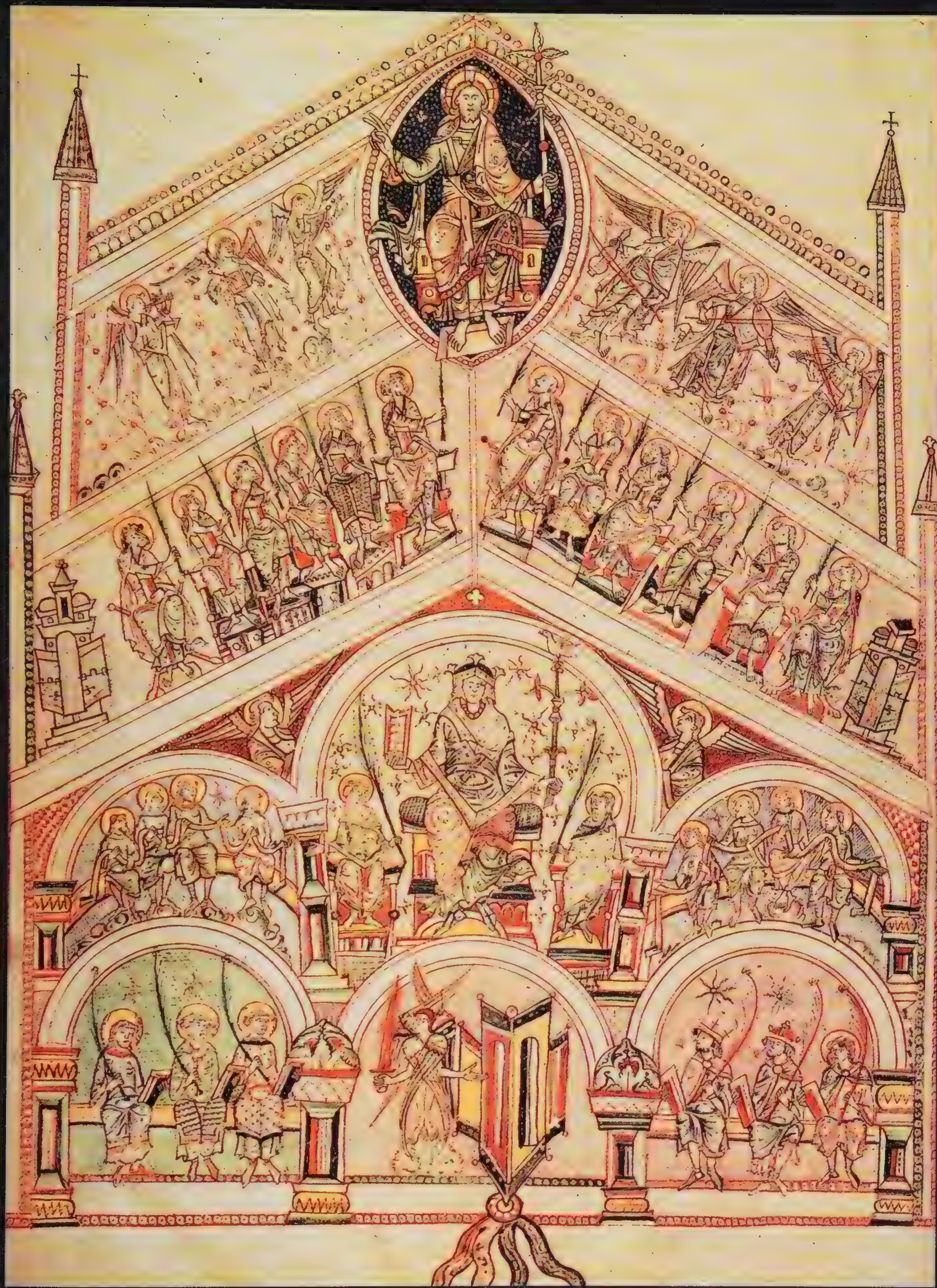
Of Augustine's greatest works (*De civitate Dei*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *De trinitate* and *Confessiones*), the first is the one that most clearly reflects his bibliographical sources. In his researches for the twenty-two books of *De civitate Dei*, written after the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, he consulted a great many works of Latin literature covering different fields of study: history, formal religion and philosophy.<sup>52</sup>

In the first five books, in which Augustine sets out to demolish pagan religion, he draws on Livy for historical material, while his criticism of ancient Rome calls to mind the preface to Sallust's *Histories* and Cicero's *De re publica*, which includes the stated views of Carneades. For his investigation into ancient Roman religion he borrows arguments from Varro (*De gente populi romani* and *Antiquitates*). On the subject of the 'theology of the Empire' the target of his polemic is Virgil, or rather the historical theocritical views he expresses in the *Aeneid*. Augustine does not hesitate to describe Virgil, Seneca and Varro as being in thrall to the age they lived in.<sup>53</sup> Lastly, a crucial influence on Augustine's philosophical thinking was Cicero, not only in *Hortensius*, as already mentioned, but in other works which brought him to the fore as an exponent of Academic scepticism.<sup>54</sup>

Augustine did not know Greek, or at least not enough to be able to read books by Greek-speaking Jewish and Christian authors. Most of those he read in Latin translations by Rufinus, Jerome and Eusebius: these included works by Philo (*Questions on Genesis*), Flavius Josephus (*The Jewish War*), Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*), Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*), Origen (*On First Principles*), Basil the Great (*Homilies on the Hexaemeron*), Gregory of Nazianzus (nine *Homilies*), Didymus the Blind (*On the Holy Spirit*) and John Chrysostom (*Homily to Neophytes*), among others.<sup>55</sup>

6. St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*. Manuscript illumination showing the author enthroned in the centre of the composition and pointing to the codex, surrounded by writers, copyists and saints who occupy various compartments of an edifice with Christ enthroned at the apex. The manuscript was copied in England in the 12th c. and the illuminations are in the style of the Canterbury school. A handwritten note at the end informs us that it belonged to Piero de' Medici. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Ms Plut. 12. 17, fo. 2v).







When we look at this list of authors and their works on a wide range of subjects, from which Augustine drew information and often quoted long passages in his books, and consider it in conjunction with the corpus of his own works, it becomes evident that he must have had an extremely well-stocked library of ancient and Christian literature, which resembles a veritable invocation to the 'Muse of Gnoseology'. All the messages contained in his books, whether right or wrong, are paths, roads and avenues leading to the discovery of the truth. Augustine wanted to know everything there is to be known and to knit together in one great book everything true that leads to the godhead. The memories of what he had read over the years remained forever alive in his mind and he enjoyed using his great dexterity in quoting – oh, how felicitously! – passages from Cicero as well as the Psalms of David and the Epistles of St. Paul. Again and again he retrieves thoughts and ideas from the books he has read, and these in their turn constitute an open book, as is apparent from his *Confessions*.

**The evidence of the manuscript.** With regard to the transitional period from the 'closure' of the ancient libraries – of which there were no fewer than twenty-eight in Rome alone, according to Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>56</sup> – to the establishment of libraries in monasteries, the best way to glean evidence concerning the obscure, scattered book centres and libraries of one kind or another is by appraising the manuscripts that have survived from that period.

We have seen how the Western Church Fathers set up and managed the publication of their writings and organized their private libraries, and how their letters served as a useful means of spreading news of their recently-published works. We have also noted the geography of the distribution of their books, that is to say the persons involved as agents in transporting manuscripts from East to West, as in the case of Jerome and Augustine.<sup>57</sup> However, once North Africa had been overrun by the Vandals it ceased to be a source of books, and perhaps the last person who hoped to obtain manuscripts from there for his library was Cassiodorus in the middle of the sixth century.<sup>58</sup>

From the second half of the sixth century, those Christians in North Africa who felt severely stressed by the persecutions resulting from the outbreaks of heresy in the Christian world fled to the Spain of the Visigoths. Ildefonsus (610?-667), Bishop of Toledo, relates that Abbot Donatus of Servitanum came over from Africa with a group of seventy monks, bringing their books with them in their baggage.<sup>59</sup> Thereafter the channels by which books were carried between East and West were limited to a main route between Rome and Constantinople and further routes be-



tween those two capitals and Southern Italy (especially Calabria) and Sicily, where a number of Greek-speaking monasteries kept up the use of the Greek language and Greek copying practices and built up fine libraries over the centuries up to the Norman conquest of that region in the twelfth century.<sup>60</sup>

Be all that as it may, it is Italy that has bequeathed to us the richest collection of manuscripts and literary output of the Late Roman period.<sup>61</sup> For example, in the sixth century it was still possible to find manuscripts of works by Boethius with corrections in his own hand<sup>62</sup> and also, probably, manuscripts actually written by Jerome.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, marginal notes and colophons referring to copy correctors attest to the existence of private or other libraries perhaps belonging to academic circles. The Codex Mediceus of Virgil was read by Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius (consul in 494)<sup>64</sup> and the name of Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavrotius (consul in 527) is mentioned in the Parisian codex of Prudentius.<sup>65</sup> The revival of great works of Latin literature owed much to the Symmachus<sup>66</sup> and Nicomachus<sup>67</sup> families at the end of the fourth century, the ‘rediscovery’ of Livy being a case in point. Handwritten notes on a codex of the Carolingian period reveal the existence of a medical school at Ravenna, where the manuscript was written.<sup>68</sup> The title page of the Calendar of 354 has a dedication to a bibliophile named Valentinus mentioning the name of the scribe, Filocalus, known as the calligrapher who executed the epitaphs composed by Pope Damasus.<sup>69</sup> All these examples lead to the conclusion that the manuscript copying tradition was carried on – though now with a different set of priorities – for bibliophiles, men of letters and libraries in Rome, Ravenna and other cities.

A renewed upward trend in the production and dissemination of books, both in Italy and in the North, was set in motion by the election of Gregory the Great to the pontificate. Gregory ordered multiple copies of his own works and sent them to friends in Italy and the Iberian peninsula: to Leander, Bishop of Seville, and Queen Theodolinda of the Lombards.<sup>70</sup> No doubt he also supplied Augustine of Canterbury with books to take with him on his mission to England (596).

Little by little, new book centres – following after the Vivarium, which is dealt with at greater length below<sup>71</sup> – became established in Italy: Bobbio Abbey, founded by the Irish monk Columbanus in 613,<sup>72</sup> Monte Cassino Abbey<sup>73</sup> and others.<sup>74</sup> These monastic libraries were enriched with works belonging to the Latin literary tradition, some of them written before the monasteries were founded (palaeographs, in other words), which either were bought by the monasteries or came from the private collections of monks who ended their lives in the community: notable examples were some codices of Cyprian and the biblical Codex K, probably

## CHAPTER II

### *New Developments in the Methods of Book Production and Distribution*

#### *The Late Roman book tradition*

#### *New book centres*



written in Africa, which was in the library at Bobbio. But although the monastic scribes did preserve the ancient manuscript tradition, to some extent they were responsible for the loss of great works of Roman literature: some beautifully-written manuscripts of letters by Fronto and various commentaries on Cicero's speeches were sacrificed to be overwritten with the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, while other manuscripts written at Bobbio contain fragments of works by Arrian and parts of the Apocrypha; and there are palimpsests of this period from other monasteries with evidence of the overwriting of many more works.<sup>75</sup>

The only place in France where manuscripts of the Late Roman and Early Christian periods have survived is Lyon. From the great monasteries founded by St. Martin of Tours, John Cassian and Caesarius of Arles not one manuscript has come down to our own time; nor is there a single manuscript fragment that can be attributed to any of their scriptoria.<sup>76</sup> There is perhaps one exception: a codex containing works by Eucherius which belonged to the library of Sidonius Apollinarius when the latter was Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand.<sup>77</sup> Sidonius was most probably the last person in Gaul who was familiar with Fronto's work.<sup>78</sup> Lyon can boast that many important manuscripts dating from this period were preserved in its book centres, and indeed its collection ranks on a par with that of Verona.<sup>79</sup> These manuscripts of biblical and patristic writings lead to the conclusion that not only was there a scriptorium there in the sixth century but it must also have been in communication with the Greek world or scholars of Greek, on the evidence of the Codex Bezae, a superb copy of the Gospels in Greek and Latin written in Egypt or North Africa.<sup>80</sup> A codex of works by Augustine, copied in Constantinople and dating from the sixth century,<sup>81</sup> also comes from Lyon.

We turn now to Wales, whence Irish monasticism originated in the sixth century. The first literary work from Wales, *De excidio Britanniae* by Gildas (ca. 500-570),<sup>82</sup> was written during that period. We also have some hagiological works of about that date, including lives of saints and a few treatises on the ecclesiastical discipline in force in Wales. The earliest Latin manuscript from Wales is an eighth-century Gospel book written in an Irish Insular script.<sup>83</sup>

7. Virgil, Opera. The oldest codex of Virgil, containing emendations in the hand of Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius and dated 494. It comes from Bobbio Abbey, where it remained until 1461, when it was acquired by Francesco I de' Medici to enrich his library. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Ms Plut. 39.1, fo. 37v).



PROLINUS ALIPHILLIS CALESTINDONK  
EXEQUAR HANC ET ANNA MICEINASASTICEPARIAM  
ADMIRANDA TIBI ET OMNIBUS SPECTACULA RERUM  
MAGNANIMOS Q. DUCIS TOTIUS Q. ORDINE GENIIS  
MAIORES ET STUDINI ET OPULOSI ET PROLINDICAM  
INTE NUILLABORATI INUIS NON GLORINSI QUAM  
NUMA INNAIUA SINUNT AUDI Q. VOCATIS MOLLO  
PRINCIPLOS SEDIS ATIBUS SIATIO Q. TIENPA  
QUONIQUE SITUENTIS ADITUS NAMIPABULACUENI  
IERAIDOMUMI PROHIBENI NI Q. QUESTIAIDI Q. PETIO  
FLORIBINSULIENI AUTERRANS BUCULACAMPO  
DECUTINTAOREALISURGENTIIS ATIERAHERBAS  
ABSINTEITICHS QUALIENIATERGALACINI  
LINGUIBUS ABSINBULISAIAROPESQ. ALIATQUOLORI  
ELAIANNIB. PROCNETECTUSSIGNATACRUENTIS  
ORINIANNAIUEUASIANIETPSASQUOLANTIS  
OREFERUNT DULCEANIDISINAMIBESCAN  
ALIQUIDI FONTES IISIA GNAUIRINIATIOSCO.  
ADSINTEITENUIS IUGIENSIE RGRAMINAMIOS  
PALATAQ. VESTIBULUM AUTINGENSOLEASHERAM  
MICAALIRIANNODUCENTIENAGAMINAREGIS  
JERESUOLUDI Q. IACUSAISSAIQUENTIS  
MIGINA INCHIEI DECIDERERITACALORI  
OBUIAQ. HOSPITIIS IENENI RONDENTIB. AMBOS  
INMEDIUNSEUSIABI INERSSU PROLUITUMIOR  
TRANSVERSASSALICES ET GRANDIACONICESNA  
TONIB. VICRIBRISTOSSINI CONSISTE REIITAS  
TANDIRENDALISTRUUISOLEN. FLORIEMORANIS  
STARSENI AUTRANCESSNIENONINAIERSIEN. RAS



In contrast to Ireland, in Brittany – where the Celts had fled for refuge from Britain – only one manuscript Gospel book survives from before the Carolingian period.<sup>84</sup> Ireland, on the other hand, only a century after the conversion of its people to Christianity, developed into one of the most dynamic agents for the formation of a sense of European cultural identity.

From the time when the first of its inhabitants were won over to Christianity until the Roman educational system became established in Irish schools, Ireland was exposed to various influences from the western part of Gaul. The great missionary St. Patrick may have come from Britain, but he had previously lived in western Gaul,<sup>85</sup> and the earliest extant biblical text in Ireland came originally from Gaul. From the seventh century Irish missionaries were in frequent contact with Rome, while in the world of books the works of Isidore of Seville were in circulation in Irish scholarly circles.<sup>86</sup> Around the middle of the seventh century the monk Lathcen published a one-volume abridgement of Gregory the Great's *Moralia*, which had originally filled six volumes.<sup>87</sup> A letter written at about that date mentions a teacher who expressed his pleasure with the accurately-copied books he had in his possession containing works by Sedulius and Isidore.<sup>88</sup> This was a period when grammar, as well as the Bible, was being systematically taught in Irish schools.

The influence of the spirit of Irish monasticism on continental Europe is epitomized by Columbanus, the founder of two great abbeys, Luxeuil and Bobbio.<sup>89</sup> Numerous manuscripts and fragments written in Ireland have been found, or are known to have existed, in the libraries of Bobbio and St. Gallen, another abbey which was a regular stopover for Irish pilgrims on their way to the Holy See. These manuscripts offer eloquent testimony to the flourishing activity of scriptoria in Ireland from the sixth century onwards,<sup>90</sup> though only a few Gospel books, one Psalter and one liturgical book survive from that period. The impact of the Irish was not felt equally in all the European centres of learning: in a number of monasteries founded in the second half of the seventh century in northern France: that influence was limited to some codices that were copied in the local script from Irish manuscripts, as at the abbeys of Perrona Scottorum at Nivelles and Fosses in northern France.<sup>91</sup>

Let us now turn our attention to England after Augustine of Canterbury's historic mission to convert the English to Christianity on the instructions of Pope Gregory the Great,<sup>92</sup> and also to the special missions undertaken some years later for the same purpose by Theodore and Adrian, two very learned men, who succeeded in establishing the authority of the Roman Church throughout the country, even in the North, where Christianity had already been propagated by monks from Iona



and Lindisfarne. With regard to the form of script used in manuscripts, southern England remained a Roman province for years, the main copying centres being in Kent, Wessex and Mercia;<sup>93</sup> and not until the early decades of the eighth century did the local script come to prevail, this being derived from scriptoria in Northumbria and perhaps also at Malmesbury.<sup>94</sup> Here it is worth stressing the important contributions made by two scholars who, after spending time in Rome, brought a large number of books back with them to England: Benedict Biscop, founder of Wearmouth-Jarrow Abbey,<sup>95</sup> and Bishop Wilfrid;<sup>96</sup> and it is quite likely that libraries in England were enriched with manuscripts brought back from the Continent by Aldhelm, another Anglo-Saxon who spent some time in Rome.<sup>97</sup> Evidently these ‘apostles of book learning’ did not limit themselves to the Roman market when hunting for manuscripts but also – on the evidence of various facts and manuscripts – browsed in the book centres of Naples: the service books used in Northumbria for the readings in the Mass have points of resemblance to Neapolitan exemplars and the colophon of the Echternach Gospels contains a reference to a copy in the library of Eugippus’s monastery in Naples.<sup>98</sup>

The fact is, however, that very few manuscripts brought from continental Europe to enrich private collections or monastic libraries have survived from this period in England. Of those few, mention should be made of a codex of the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and Latin which was in Sardinia in the sixth and seventh centuries, was acquired by Bede in the eighth century and came to rest in Germany;<sup>99</sup> and a manuscript of works by Jerome now in Würzburg.<sup>100</sup>

In contrast to other countries, especially those in continental Europe, nuns also played an important part in English education in the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>101</sup> As is only to be expected, the nuns’ output of manuscripts was not equal to that of the monks, but in some parts of England the standards of grammatical and literary scholarship in the nunneries were comparable to those of the monasteries. The oldest ex-libris found in an English-owned manuscript is in a codex written in Italy in the fifth century, containing works by Jerome: it bears the name of the abbess of a convent near Worcester around the year 700.<sup>102</sup> Boniface and Lullus sent books to nuns under their spiritual direction, as we know from a manuscript of Apponius’s exposition of the Song of Songs copied by a woman named Burginda.<sup>103</sup> The Anglo-Saxons’ intellectual activities, as attested by the output of the scriptoria, the broad range of subjects covered by the manuscripts and the organization of libraries like those of Bede and of York Minster in Alcuin’s time, point to the existence of a solid infrastructure already in place, though there is very little codicological evidence of it.<sup>104</sup>



The French regard the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours as the last product of the Latin literary tradition. By a lucky chance the earliest manuscript of that work,<sup>105</sup> now fragmentary, dates from shortly after his death (†595).

While Gregory the Great was still alive, Columbanus founded Luxeuil Abbey, which was the model for numerous monasteries in the seventh century. The oldest manuscript known to have been written there is the Morgan Augustine, dated 669.<sup>106</sup> The extant manuscripts from the Luxeuil library show evidence of practices characteristic of the manuscripts from Bobbio: that is to say many of them are palimpsests which originally contained works by Ovid, Pliny, Livy and others and a Latin translation of a work by Euclid.<sup>107</sup> All of those are derived from fifth- and sixth-century Italian manuscripts written in a fine calligraphic style, copied later in the script used at Luxeuil.<sup>108</sup> Only one of them had luck on its side: it is a codex of Proclus written in Italy in the fifth century, which was preserved thanks to the care taken of it by a librarian at Luxeuil Abbey.<sup>109</sup>

As we have seen, Spain was the first stopping-place for refugees from North Africa fleeing the troubles stirred up by persecution of the heretics. However, this country in the Iberian peninsula turned out not to be a safe haven for the development and systematic cultivation of literary pursuits, even though the conversion of King Reccard to Catholicism in 589 seemed to create favourable conditions. Soon after that event the study of Latin was revived and cathedrals formed their own libraries,<sup>110</sup> the peak of this intellectual renaissance being reached with Isidore of Seville, who had a large library of his own and access to others, including that of his publisher Bishop Braulio.<sup>111</sup> At the forefront of this reversion to Latin literature were Pope Gregory the Great himself, who sent some of his works to Spain, as we have seen,<sup>112</sup> and the Visigoth King Chindasuinth (641-652), who enriched his library with manuscripts from Roman scriptoria.<sup>113</sup> This cross-border traffic in books received further momentum from the dissemination of books written by Isidore of Seville, as manuscripts of his works, especially the *Etymologiae*, began to circulate outside Spain – north of the Pyrenees and in Italy and England – in his lifetime.<sup>114</sup>

After the Arab invasion of Spain many Spaniards emigrated to Gaul, Sardinia and Italy, many of them taking their books with them to keep them company in their self-imposed exile. In this way manuscripts written in Spain in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries turned up at Autun,<sup>115</sup> St. Gallen,<sup>116</sup> Bobbio,<sup>117</sup> Vercelli<sup>118</sup> and Verona.<sup>119</sup> For quite a long time those émigrés from Spain organized themselves into communities, and for several generations their scribes continued to practice their profession using the Visigothic script.<sup>120</sup>

Spain offers  
refuge to Christians  
from the East





8. Pope Gregory the Great dictating his hymns to his scribe, John the Deacon, with the Holy Spirit on his shoulder giving him guidance. Manuscript illumination from the codex *Antiphonarium officii*, painted by Hartker at St. George, St. Gallen, between 980 and 1011. Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen (Cod. Sang. 390, p. 13).



Finally, in Germany, we find no evidence of interest in books dealing with Latin literature or of the production of such manuscripts until the last third of the eighth century, shortly before the start of Charlemagne's reign. A few examples of the manuscript tradition from that period have survived in cathedrals: one of them is a codex written *circa* 700 for Basinus, who was probably Bishop of Trier, which is now in the Bibliotheca Vallicelliana.<sup>121</sup> Cologne Cathedral has two codices of works on canon law written in southern France and Northumbria, probably acquired in the eighth century. One was written in the time of Gregory the Great and the other a century later.<sup>122</sup>

Some parts of Germany boasted notable book centres – notable both for their production of manuscripts and for the libraries that came into being round their scriptoria: for example, the abbeys of Reichenau, St. Gallen and Murbach, all in south-western Alamannia.<sup>123</sup> Another region that was relatively advanced in the matter of books was southern Bavaria with part of Austria.<sup>124</sup> Under the last Duke of Bavaria, Tassilo, there was an upsurge of activity in the book world in the towns of Regensburg, Freising and Salzburg and monasteries founded by Tassilo.

**Persecutions, heresies and imperial decrees: books condemned to death.** In the East more than the West, it was not particularly unusual for books to be suppressed and condemned by the imperial court before the Edict of Milan (313). The books in question were sacred books and they were proscribed as symbols of faith and tokens of the Christians' opinions and beliefs, which were seen as a challenge to received wisdom and to the administration.<sup>125</sup> But with the spread of Christianity and its adoption as the official religion of the Empire, the persecuted became the persecutors, the established Church targeted heretical books by Arians, Manichaeans, Nestorians, Donatists and others, and whole libraries were consigned to the flames in the process.<sup>126</sup> Nor did the Christians stop there: believing that decrees outlawing pagan practices such as divination, alchemy, palmistry and astrology were manifestations of divine justice, they took a fitting revenge for the tribulations they had undergone during the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. In fact they even went so far as to burn mathematical books as being suspect, a trend that reached a horrific climax in the lynching of Hypatia by an unbridled mob urged on by Bishop Cyril of Alexandria, an event that led to the dispersal of the books from the library of the Alexandrian school.<sup>127</sup>

The first great campaign against Christian books in the West, in the course of which large numbers of liturgical books and copies of the Scriptures must have been burnt, took place during the Great Persecution launched in 303 by Diocletian,



which in the West lasted two years, though in the East it was on an altogether larger scale and can safely be described as the most severe ordeal ever suffered by the Christian church.<sup>128</sup> The principal provisions of the only decree issued in the West were those banning the performance of liturgical rites, ordering the demolition of churches and demanding that all sacred books be handed in to the authorities.<sup>129</sup> This decree resulted in an undeclared schism within the Western Christian Church arising from the position taken up by the prelates, who regarded all Christians who handed over the Holy Scriptures as apostates (the word used for 'handing over' being *traditio*, which can also mean 'betrayal').<sup>130</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus gives a very accurate account of the events and castigates the Christians for the way in which they persecuted each other: in this respect there was little to choose between Catholics, heretics and schismatics, between Athanasians, Arians and Donatists.<sup>131</sup>

One of the greatest Western Church Fathers, by his attitude to heretics, did more to encourage prelates to adopt extreme positions than to deter them. Augustine has been described by Van der Meer as 'the true father of the Inquisition', and although at first he deprecated the practice of suppressing his Donatist opponents in accordance with the law, he eventually concluded that where discipline fails persecution may be the most effective answer. In a famous speech he delivered at Mauritanian Caesarea he expressly declared, 'I persecute openly because I am a son of the Church.'<sup>132</sup>

The Great Persecution gave Christians the idea of 'voluntary martyrdom': by deliberately making provocative actions such as tearing up decrees against their religion, the faithful actively sought martyrdom, believing that the 'baptism of blood' would be their passport to Paradise. A typical instance is the case of the martyr Euplus, who, standing outside the offices of the Governor of Sicily with a copy of the Gospels in his hand, shouted out, 'I wish to die, for I am a Christian.'<sup>133</sup>

It should be noted that before 313 the Church had no central organs of power responsible for drawing up a standard policy or stance towards theologians' views on doctrinal issues concerned mainly with Christology. Such problems were therefore resolved or debated by local synods or councils which the Church convened as and when necessary. But the situation changed rapidly after 330, when Christianity was declared the official religion of the Empire; and when the canon of the New Testament was approved by the Council of Carthage in 397 the ecclesiastical authorities had the means and the ability to take the necessary steps to define what was meant by 'orthodox faith'. One thing of which we may be sure is that the Church followed the pagans' methods to the letter as regards the penalties to be imposed on those who disagreed with their line: condemnation of their views entailed the public 'ex-



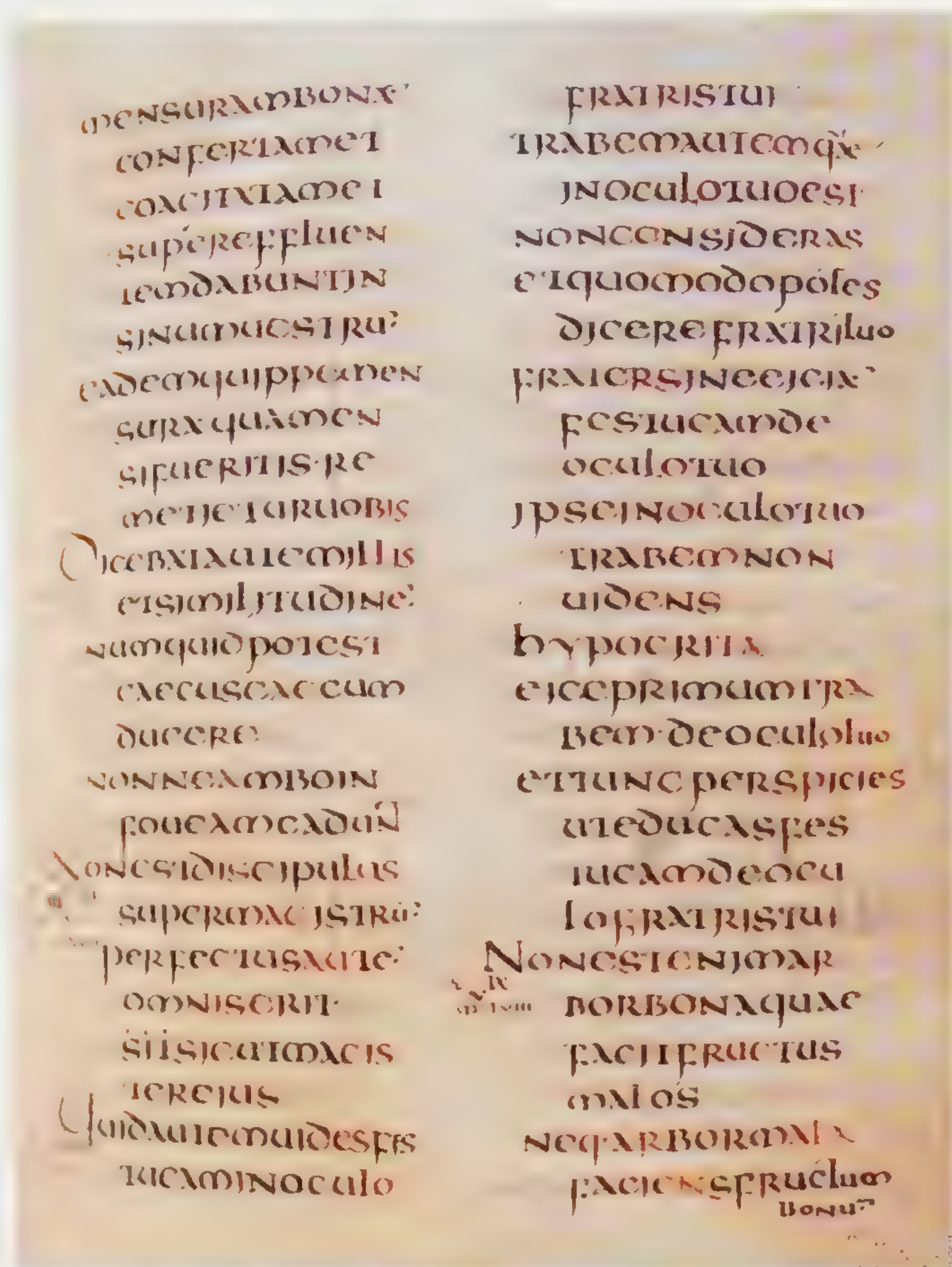
ecution' of the fruits of their thinking, in other words their books were consigned to the flames – a punishment that remained in force for centuries thereafter.

**The Bible as an 'ark' of Christian learning.** The Christians inherited a culture – or partook of it when it suited them – which from the Early Hellenistic period

had books as the symbol of its brilliance and its achievements. The Christians' only possible response to the pagans' intellectual heritage had to be a book of divine character that did not come from the pen of a famous or recognizable philosopher but was dictated by angels or even by God himself: *libri celesti* (heavenly books), that is books written actually in Paradise (*divina volumina*).<sup>134</sup> So the copying of the sacred books came to be an apostolic task, as the calligrapher or scribe was simply recording the divine Word; in other words he was an intermediary.<sup>135</sup> Orientius gives a vivid description of the scribe's function: 'This finger is simply the pen with which the divine law is written down.'<sup>136</sup>

From the first years of the Christian era the Western and Eastern Church Fathers designated the four Gospels collectively as the 'heavenly book', with regard both to their teaching and to the illustrations prescribed for them.<sup>137</sup>

Jerome describes the ritual: 'Throughout the whole Eastern Church, ... whenever the Gospel is to be read the candles are lighted, ... not of course to scatter the darkness, but by way of evidencing our joy.'<sup>138</sup> The upshot of this ideology was that the Bible was established as the quintessential symbol of the Christian faith: the Old and New Testaments. It is no coincidence that a feature of the persecutions of Christians was an order that the Bible was to be handed in to the au-



9. This sixth-century Gospel book is one of the volumes Augustine brought to Canterbury as a member of Gregory the Great's papal mission. It was almost certainly copied in Rome and was kept for a long time on the high altar of the Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, which Augustine founded in Canterbury. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (Ms 286).



thorities or consigned to the flames: for various reasons, not least because it was a rule of monastic life that the monks must read the Bible every day, it was acknowledged by them as a symbol of their faith and a sure guide on the road leading them to God.

The Bible came to be a point of reference for Christian life and culture in the early Middle Ages, for new copies of the Old and New Testaments were constantly being produced for the needs of the faithful. They were the basic texts for those who intended to follow the monastic life and, in addition, an infallible guide for lay people in their everyday life. The Bible has it all: the word and the image. The illustrations prescribed for the Gospels and the rest of the Bible provided archetypal material for the religious decoration of churches.<sup>139</sup>

It is safe to say, on the available evidence, that a large number of manuscripts of the Latin Bible were in circulation in Africa by the fourth century.<sup>140</sup> With the ascendancy of Christianity – especially after the persecutions of Diocletian – and the rapid increase in the number of Christians in Italy and the barbarian lands of northern Europe, there was a huge need for copies of the Bible and biblical writings. Some idea of the strength of demand is given by the fact that by the end of the eighth century there must have been thousands of copies of the Bible. Indeed the market was oversaturated by that time, with the result that codices were dismembered and their pages overwritten with other texts, to become palimpsests.<sup>141</sup> Out of those thousands, 363 codices have survived to the present day: they are comprehensively catalogued in *Codices Latini Antiquiores*.<sup>142</sup>

In the Middle Ages it was rare for all the books of the Bible (Octateuch, Psalms, Epistles, Gospels, Apocalypse, Histories, etc.) to be included in one codex: usually each codex contained only selected books. Only in the Carolingian period, probably for political reasons or to meet the demand from book-collectors, were codices produced containing all the books of the Bible in one volume.<sup>143</sup> Four of those complete Bibles date from before 800: they are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Stadtbibliothek in Mainz, the library of St. Gallen Abbey and the cathedral treasury at Le Puy.<sup>144</sup> Apart from them, the only extant complete Bible is the Codex *Amiatinus* in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.<sup>145</sup> The main disadvantage of binding the whole Bible together in one codex was the size of the resulting volume, which was too bulky to be conveniently used as a liturgical or devotional book. Be that as it may, the Bible – or codices containing selected books of the Bible (especially Gospel books) – was the most treasured possession of every abbey or cathedral or Catholic monastery. That is why those manuscripts are notable for their calligraphy and fine bindings.



The script used for biblical manuscripts was majuscule until the late seventh century and usually so until the last decades of the eighth. Then, in the Carolingian period, minuscule became the norm and its use spread rapidly.<sup>146</sup> A half-uncial script which made its appearance did not last long, but it was used for three early copies of the Bible noted for their fine calligraphy: one of them is in the library of St. Gallen Abbey.<sup>147</sup> The point is, though, that it was essential for the Bible, as the spiritual ark of Christendom *par excellence*, to radiate its symbolism in every respect and with the necessary brilliance. That is probably the reason why, from about 550 onwards, such sumptuous manuscripts were produced, mostly of the Gospels and often written in gold and silver ink on purple parchment. Jerome inveighed against this trend in one of his letters, calling it an excessive luxury.<sup>148</sup> Typical examples of this 'imperial' image of the Bible are to be seen in a Gospel book in the Brescia library<sup>149</sup> and its sister manuscript, the Codex Argenteus in Uppsala.<sup>150</sup>

A historic codex of the Bible, though not written either on purple parchment or in ink made from a precious metal, is the Book of Kells.<sup>151</sup> The text is written in a majuscule script between two vertical lines, with extraordinarily lavish illuminations on every page. The Book of Kells is an excellent example of the new trend of enhancing the text of the Bible with artistic illustrations, which developed faster in the British Isles than elsewhere.<sup>152</sup>

It is clear from the content and marginal notes in most biblical manuscripts that they were intended – at any rate for a long period before the minuscule script came into universal use – for practical use in the liturgy. But as time went on, and already by the eighth century, they came to be regarded in the same light as sacred relics, either because of their age or because of their outstanding artistic merit, as in the case of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells.<sup>153</sup>

The Bible was of paramount importance in the early years of the Christian era. Not only was it a symbol of Christian faith and a medium for the education and admonition of monks, a moral code and an uplifting text supplying an answer to every question, but it also played a 'political' role. It occupied a crucial position at Church Councils and other ecclesiastical gatherings; it symbolized the divine presence; and, this being the case, its artistic merit had to be comparable to the divine.

10. Gospel book: a manuscript copied by the calligrapher Wigbald at an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium and enriched with numerous decorated initials. This miniature of St. John the Evangelist is executed in the plain, unadorned style typical of manuscript illuminations from the British Isles. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Barb. lat. 570, fo. 124v).



Sēs to  
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A scribe of the Carolingian period named Godescalc composed the following aphorism: 'Golden letters on purple pages promise the heavenly kingdoms and the joys of heaven by the shedding of rosy blood.'<sup>154</sup>

**A model centre of monastic education: the Monastery of the Vivarium.** Three members of the Italian aristocracy, Boethius, St. Benedict and Cassiodorus, represent and symbolize intellectual life in Italy in the transitional period between the ancient era and the Middle Ages, that is from the late fourth to the mid sixth century. Of those, the one who showed himself really determined from an early age to reconcile the Graeco-Roman scholarly tradition with Christian literature and theology, and at the same time to draw up an educational curriculum based on classical and Christian literature, was Cassiodorus.

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator was born into an illustrious family at Scylacium (Squillace), southern Italy, in 468. When still only twenty years old he was taken into the service of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, and rose quickly to high office: a *consul ordinarius* in 514, *magister officiorum* in 523 and eventually Praetorian Prefect. His father before him had been a member of Odoacer's court and he himself was appointed Governor of Sicily by Theodoric, in which position he amassed a huge fortune in landed property in Sicily and Calabria, to the extent that whole towns belonged to him.<sup>155</sup>

It was not long before Cassiodorus, with his enormous range of learning and his diplomatic skills, was in sole charge of policy-making and administration in Theodoric's kingdom. In the hope of gaining acceptance for his own educational philosophy, he set out to implant in Theodoric his own love of the classics and instructed him in Platonism, so that the monarch would rule in accordance with its precepts. He also persuaded Theodoric's daughter Amalasuntha to take Latin lessons and read the great Roman writers. His correspondence with Boethius and Symmachus reveals that his efforts to raise the standard of education and introduce radical reforms had the support of the royal house. However, matters took an unexpected turn: Theodoric altered the course of his policy and not only abandoned the educational reforms but arranged for Boethius and Symmachus, who had been at the forefront in cultivating the Roman intellectual tradition, to be judicially murdered.<sup>156</sup>

Nothing daunted by this volte-face, Cassiodorus pressed on with his campaign to reform the educational system. He went to Rome and founded a Christian 'university' there in 535 in collaboration with Pope Agapetus, taking as his model the Christian teaching practices introduced by Origen in the schools of Alexandria. But



this was an ill-chosen moment for enterprises of that sort. In the course of the war between the Ostrogoths and the Byzantine Empire, the Byzantine general Belisarius captured Rome in 536: the university was destroyed and the books collected by Cassiodorus were scattered far and wide.<sup>157</sup>

Even after this grave setback Cassiodorus refused to abandon his original plan of founding a centre of higher learning in Italy. He journeyed to Constantinople, where he was informed that a centre of Christian studies existed at Nisibis in Persia.<sup>158</sup> But Rome, although still under Byzantine rule, remained under threat; and so, to lessen the chances of another failure, he decided to press ahead with his plan further south. He therefore went back to Scylacium, his birthplace, and there established in 538 a monastery which he called the Vivarium.

Little is known about this monastery, which actually lasted as a monastery for only twenty-eight years, for it did not survive its founder's death. However, we do know that Cassiodorus did not impose the Rule of St. Benedict on the monks there and we also know about its curriculum thanks to a treatise entitled *Institutiones divinarum litterarum*, written by Cassiodorus in about 563 and based on the books in his library.<sup>159</sup> It is clear from the Preface to the *Institutiones* that Cassiodorus was a thoughtful and very perceptive man, for he foresaw that with the collapse of political institutions monasteries would play an important part in preserving the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition and would offer a place of refuge to those who wished to pursue their studies.

Although Cassiodorus had been influenced by Eastern thinking through Dionysius Exiguus, a pupil and dear friend of his, and although he possessed an astonishing facility for translating from Latin into Greek and vice versa, he had decided views of his own on what was the right kind of education for monasteries in the West.<sup>160</sup> In his opinion, every monk who aspired to a thorough knowledge and full understanding of the Scriptures had to be well versed in Graeco-Roman literature, and he was convinced that this familiarity could only be acquired from Latin literature and translations of Greek books on philosophy and other branches of learning. Although there cannot have been more than fifteen Greek manuscripts in the Vivarium's library, it is an established fact that works by Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Didymus, Socrates, Sozomenus, John Chrysostom and many others were translated into Latin there.<sup>161</sup>

Cassiodorus was a great book-lover and liked books to be as encyclopaedic as possible. He did his best to see that this was true of his own books by frequently binding together in one codex two or more works on related subjects, such as Cicero's *De inventione*, Fortunianus's *Ars rhetorica* and Quintilian's *Ars grammatica*.



He was also a stickler for accurate copying of manuscripts and had boundless admiration for the work of copyists, many of them anonymous. As he said,

*Blessed is the intention and laudable the zeal of him who teaches men with his hand, loosens their tongues with his fingers, offers salvation to mortals without speaking and fights the devil's false and iniquitous works with pen and ink.*<sup>162</sup>

The remnants  
of the library

When the monastery closed, in about 575, its valuable collection of books was dispersed. Most of them probably went to the Lateran Library but subsequently vanished without trace through the negligence of some of the popes.<sup>163</sup> Very few of the manuscripts that once belonged to the Vivarium's library have been identified, one of those few being the famous *Codex Amiatinus*, which has had an eventful existence. This manuscript edition of the Bible was written at the Vivarium and one of its miniatures depicts a person who is probably Cassiodorus himself, studying a manuscript in front of an open cupboard full of books, probably his private library.<sup>164</sup> The codex found its way to Rome, where it was bought by Ceolfrid, probably in 678. On Ceolfrid's return to Northumbria this magnificent codex was copied on his orders at Wearmouth or Jarrow. Ceolfrid then decided to give the *Codex Amiatinus* to the Pope on his next visit to Rome, but he was unable to do so as he died on the way there, at Langres in 716. What happened to it after Ceolfrid's death is not known.

The *Codex Amiatinus* is a landmark in the history of Anglo-Saxon art, because the existing codex does not appear to be an exact copy of the original one written and illuminated a hundred and fifty years earlier. The artistic taste and talent of the Northumbrian miniaturists and their ability to rise above the level of mere copying should certainly not be underestimated. Whatever the truth of the matter, much ink has been spilt in trying to identify the original manuscript by comparison with the copy and, more particularly, in trying to establish whether the well-known miniature of Ezra is in fact a portrait of Cassiodorus, with nine codices arranged on the shelves of a wide-open cupboard. Scholars have also exercised their minds over the question of the identity of those nine codices: are they the *novem codices* described in the *Institutiones*? No definitive answer has been reached to either of these questions, though of course nothing can detract from the composition's artistic merit, especially the painterly rendering of the subject.





11. The famous Codex Amiatinus. Many believe that this miniature represents Cassiodorus in the Vivarium, busy writing with a wide-open cupboard full of books in the background. It was painted before 716 at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Ms Amiatino 1, fo. Vr).



**Education and the textbooks used in educating the clergy.** Monastic life as such was equated with being at school, in every respect. But the matters that chiefly interest us here are the curriculum followed by the monks and the books that were used as the basis of this new educational philosophy, not to mention the books that were discarded. These two parameters had a direct impact on the con-

tent of every monastic library: in fact they largely determined what books were kept there.

The first concern of monastic education was reading: every monk should reach the level of intellectual attainment necessary for him to read and to understand the concepts he was reading about, as Caesarius of Arles strongly believed.<sup>165</sup> After reading came writing: the monks were taught to write in simple, straightforward language without rhetorical flourishes, in exactly the style used by St. Benedict in his Rule, described by Gregory the Great as *luculentus*.<sup>166</sup> The young monks pursued religious studies to the exclusion of all else, and any newly-converted pagans who entered a monastery with the works of ancient literature fresh in their minds were given just one admonition: think constantly on religious texts, with the same zeal that you once showed for Latin literature.



12. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*. The codex, containing Books I and II, is dated to the 9th or 10th c. and may have been copied at Nonantola. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine (660, fo. 113v).

The next stage was a period of 'open schooling', when the monks learnt how to acquire an understanding of the word of God, that is by listening to the Psalms and learning to chant them. When they had the contents of the Psalter by heart, the next thing the curriculum prescribed for them was private study.<sup>167</sup> In their free time they were required to read and reread the Bible, first and foremost, and also to peruse thoroughly the Rule of their own monastery and other monastic Rules, such as those of Basil the Great and Pachomius, the works of Cassian and the Lives



of the Eastern Church Fathers. St. Benedict, in his Rule, touches on the subject of patristic writings, and any monk wishing to read them would of course be led straight to the monastic library. No library catalogues survive from that period, but the way they were organized and run was made to measure for that particular educational philosophy: one of the monks, appointed to be in charge of the library, would be available at fixed times to hand out books for reading and was responsible for their safe keeping.

Monastic education in this period, according to the Rule of St. Benedict, must have been very like asceticism.<sup>168</sup> None of the textbooks used in the educational process were to be the same as those used by non-Christians, and any reference to works by pagan authors or the ideas they expressed was forbidden. This type of monastic education came closer to the Eastern Christian model of monastic life – as represented by the Rule of the Monastery of Studius, for instance – than to the ideas of Cassiodorus.<sup>169</sup> The fact of the matter is that every abbot used his own judgment in deciding on the nature of the education he wanted to establish in his monastery, especially after Alcuin's time. And then, as time moved on, it was not long before some abbots with wider intellectual horizons tentatively started using as teaching aids those very works of ancient literature which the Fathers had railed against, so preparing the ground for the Carolingian educational reforms.

**The mind, the eye, the hand: scriptoria.** I chose this somewhat poetic-sounding heading for the section on monastic scriptoria because the role of monkish scribes was quite different from the functions and practices of copyists of pagan literature up to about the fifth century. The copyists and stenographers working for publishers and booksellers in Rome and Alexandria in the time of the Sosii were usually slaves.<sup>170</sup> This reduced copying costs almost to nothing, which made papyrus books extremely attractive to grammarians and philosophers. The ready availability of economically-priced books encouraged teachers to form their own private libraries and made it easy for them to do so, with the result that the books they used in their teaching were preserved in large numbers. From the Early Christian period, however, the new dogma forbade the faithful to employ slaves, with a few exceptions such as household servants.<sup>171</sup> The Church Fathers, to meet the growing demand for their books in the West as well as the East, were happy to accept subventions from their wealthier followers and other patrons of literature and the arts, as we have seen.<sup>172</sup> And some of the great Christian authors helped out their fellow-writers financially to enable them to carry on with their research and writing: we have already seen that Ambrose paid at least seven stenographers



and the same number of copyists to transcribe books that Origen needed to have in his library.<sup>173</sup> What is more, not only did writers have to pay their scribes at rates fixed by law, but the cost of books was pushed up by the choice (not that there was really any option) of parchment in place of papyrus.

The monks who were set to work copying manuscripts in their monasteries restored the conditions that had been normal in antiquity, inasmuch as most of them were working as 'slaves', and after a certain point in time they were working to achieve their own salvation in the sense that, borrowing barbarian customs, they counted up the number of pages, lines and letters they had written and set them off against the time they would have to spend in purgatory: whenever they missed out a line or even a letter through carelessness, their term in purgatory would be extended correspondingly. It was against this background of forced labour – given that some copyists had very little interest in what they were writing – that Titivillus, the gremlin of the scriptorium, was born: he was a demon who played tricks on the scribes and whom they were compelled to bequeath to their successors.<sup>174</sup>

In the early Middle Ages books were produced both in monasteries and in private copying workshops, and there were also itinerant calligraphers offering their services in the market. The monastic scriptoria soon established relations with other monasteries, and also with the secular clergy and the laity, in the course of their work.<sup>175</sup> The larger abbeys' output of codices often exceeded the needs of their own schools and libraries, in which case they would approach other monasteries in the hope of selling multiple copies of their books or obtaining orders for their scriptoria to copy works of which they had unique or rare copies in their libraries. Orders were also placed with monastic scriptoria by high-ranking church dignitaries, bishops or even parish priests, not only for liturgical books but also for books for their own sake, often to enrich the private library of some prelate or a princely court.

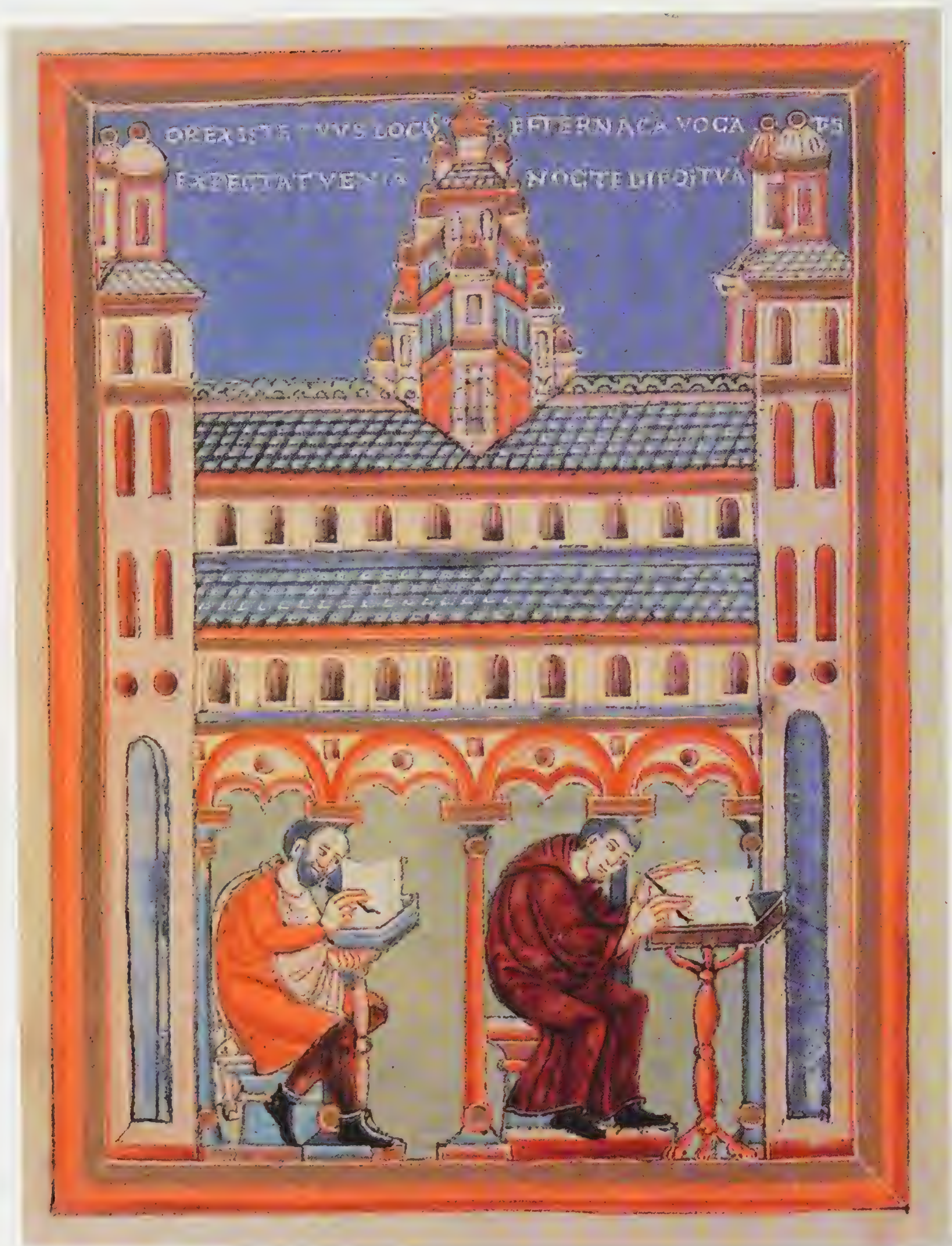
It goes without saying that monastic scriptoria differed from one monastery to another, and besides that there were sometimes noticeable shifts of direction in one and the same monastery over the years, resulting from the policy and interests of its country's ruler or the presence of some inspired man of letters.<sup>176</sup> The style of writing and the choice of texts for copying are the two principal distinctive marks of each scriptorium. Every monastic scriptorium has its own recognizable features according to the quality of the writing materials, the way the parchment has been treated, the script and writing style employed by each scribe, the historiated initials and illuminations and the bindings of the codices. The various scripts (majuscule or minuscule) in general use at different periods, the calligraphic style, the spacing





13. St. Ambrose in a codex copied during the episcopate of Bishop Egino (796-799) for the Verona cathedral library. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Phil. 1676, fo. 24r).





14. A scriptorium as depicted in a Gospel book copied at Echternach Abbey ca. 1039-1040 for the Ottonian Emperor Henry III. Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Ms B 21, fo. 124v).



of the lines of text, the lines ruled on the parchment, the incipits, the artistic style and the general appearance of the whole manuscript, as well as the content, all complied with an extensive set of rules which brought different 'schools' of manuscript writing into being as generation succeeded generation.<sup>177</sup>

Two parameters which sometimes altered the character of monastic scriptoria had to do with movement between monasteries: either an abbot might be transferred from one monastery to another<sup>178</sup> or a celebrated calligrapher and illuminator might move from one scriptorium to another.<sup>179</sup> Yet another element that might affect a scriptorium's products was the fact that large monasteries sometimes had standing arrangements for mutual collaboration, which often left their mark on the style of writing and illumination of their scriptoria.

Our ability to compare manuscripts and ascribe them to particular scriptoria, scribes and illuminators makes it possible to link those assessments with local historical events. The evaluation of the manuscript tradition offers an insight not only into the character of each monastery's output of books but also into each monastery's overall cultural influence, at least within the area under its dominance.<sup>180</sup>

People come and go, abbots are succeeded by other abbots, monks take over their predecessors' positions and many of them remain anonymous; but the books speak for them.







## NOTES

### II

#### New Developments in the Methods of Book Production and Distribution







## NOTES

1. This account of Jerome's practices is based mainly on the following four papers: A. Wikenhauser, 'Der heilige Hieronymus und die Kurzschrift', *Theologische Quatralschrift*, XCII (1910) 50-87; D. Gorce, 'Comment travaillait saint Jérôme', *Revue Ascétique et de Mystique*, XXV (1949) 117-139; J. Labourt, *Saint Jérôme, Lettres* (texte et traduction), Paris, Collection des Universités de France, vols. 1-2, 1949-1951; and esp. R.P. Evaristo Arns, *La Technique du Livre d'après saint Jérôme*, Paris, E. de Boccard, Editeurs, 1953.
2. Marcella, Paula, Eustochium, Principia, Fabiola and other ladies are mentioned as members of a circle of noblewomen who were won over to the ascetic life by Jerome's preaching in Rome. Many of these people were unstinting in their financial support – especially Paula, who followed Jerome into exile, and Marcella, who stayed in Rome until her death in 410. What we know about Marcella's life comes from Jerome himself and is contained in a letter he wrote to Principia in 412 (*Epist. ad Princ.*, 127 = *PL*, XXII, 1094).

Marcella, a wealthy woman, turned her house on the Aventine Hill into a centre of Christian learning. That was probably where she had her library with its multiple copies of Jerome's works, which she sold to any interested buyers. Jerome's correspondence with Marcella throws light on the role she played as custodian of his written works: in one letter he refers to her as 'φιλοπονωτάτη [most industrious] nostra Marcella' (*Epist. ad*

*Paul.*, 30.14 = *PL*, XXII, 444-445) and from the very early days of their acquaintance he called her his ἐργοδιώκτης, that is the person who helped him with the business side of his authorial work in many capacities (*Epist. ad Marc.*, 28.1 = *PL*, XXII, 433).

Jerome always did his best to prevent his follower and faithful friend Marcella from reading anything that distorted the true faith, and for that reason he refused to send her certain commentaries by Rheticius, Bishop of Autun (*Epist. ad Marc.*, 37.4 = *PL*, XXII, 463).

3. *Epist. ad Flor.*, 5.2 = *PL*, XXII, 337.
4. See Wikenhauser, *op. cit.*; Arns, *op. cit.*, 51-62.
5. See H. Bluemner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian*, Berlin 1893, 119.
6. Aug., *De doctrina*, II.26.40 = *PL*, XXXIV, 55.
7. Jer., *De viris ill.*, 61 = *PL*, XXIII, 673.
8. See Arns, *op. cit.*, 53.
9. Jer., *Epist. ad Paul.*, 33.1 = *PL*, XXII, 447 (*Graeci Chalcenterum miris efferunt laudibus...*).
10. Jer., *Epist. ad Pam. et Ocean.*, 84.8 = *PL*, XXII, 750
11. See Arns, *op. cit.*, 54-59.
12. See W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1921<sup>2</sup>, 158.
13. See F. Cavallera, 'Hieronymus', *Bull. de littér. ecclésiast.* IX (1918) 316-321.
14. Jer., *De viris ill.*, 35 = *PL*, XXIII, 649.
15. Jer., *Comm. ad Eph.*, I.2.1 = *PL*, XXVI.
16. See Arns, *op. cit.*, 73-75; Jer., *Comm. ad Gal.*, III, Praef. = *PL*, XXVI, 400.
17. Stesichorus (Tisias) of Maturus was



- struck blind for writing in his poem *Helen* that the eponymous heroine was responsible for the Greeks' miseries, and his sight was not restored until he had published a recantation (*palinodia*). See Jer., *Apol.*, I.10 = PL, XXIII, 405.
18. See Arns, *op. cit.*, 75-79.
  19. Jer., *Apol.*, I.1 = PL, XXIII, 397.
  20. Aug., *Epist. ad Hier.*, 144.2 = PL, XXII, 1183.
  21. Sym., *Epist. ad Auson.*, I.31.
  22. Jer., *De viris ill.*, 8 = PL, XXIII, 621.
  23. Jer., *Dialog. con. Pel.*, Praef., 2 = PL, XXIII, 497.
  24. Aug., *Epist. ad Hier.*, 104.3 = PL, XXII, 832.
  25. See Arns, *op. cit.*, 89.
  26. On public readings in the Roman period see Staikos II. 142-147.
  27. Jer., *De viris ill.*, 42 = PL, XXIII, 657.
  28. Jer., *Apol.*, III.5 = PL, XXIII, 461.
  29. *Epist. ad Paul.*, 58.8 = PL, XXII, 584.
  30. Jer., *Comm. ad Gal.*, Praef. = PL, XXVI, 309.
  31. Oros., *Epist.*, *Ap. de Lib. Arb.*, Mansi, IV, 309, A: '... beatus Hieronymus cuius eloquium universus Occidens sicut ros in vellus expectat ...'; Sulp. Sev., *Dial.*, I.8 = PL, XX, 189, B.
  32. Aug., *Epist. ad Hier.*, 110.6 = PL, XXII, 912.
  33. We know about the part Paulinus of Nola played in promoting Jerome's books in the West. In addition, he apparently had a well-stocked 'lending' library and was well informed about everything being written about Christian literature in his time: although Augustine was in close contact with Ambrose, he had to ask Paulinus for copies of Ambrose's work (Aug., *Epist. ad Paul.*, 31.8 = PL, XXXIII, 125. Their dependence on each other for books is also

apparent from the fact that Paulinus was interested in obtaining copies of Augustine's works, not so much for his own use as for use by churches (Paul., *Epist. ad Aug.*, 25.1 = PL, XXIII, 101.

34. See P. Courcelle, 'Paulin de Nole et saint Jérôme', *Revue des Etudes Latines* XXV (1947) 250-280; and more generally C. Magazzi, 'Dieci anni di studi su Paolino di Nola (1977-1987)', *Bollettino di studi latini* 18 (1988) 84-103; D.E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999.

Paulinus must have started his library and publishing centre after 410, when he was consecrated Bishop of Nola; they were probably in the monumental building he erected in honour of St. Félix of Nola. This location is deduced from archaeological evidence and also from the description he gives of the building in a letter to Sulpicius Severus.

35. Jer., *Apol.*, III.7 = PL, XXIII, 463.
36. *Epist. ad Pam.*, 52.2 = PL, XXII, 569.
37. The self-styled monk in question was none other than Vigilantius, the author of a treatise against certain practices of the Church which provoked Jerome's wrath (PL, XXIII, 345, A).
38. On the Lateran Library and other book collections in Rome in that period, see pp. 154, 216, 239.
39. On the help given by Marcella in promoting Jerome's books in the West and Paulinus's role as agent for treatises written by ecclesiastical writers, see p. 53.
40. See P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A biography*, London 1967; cf. A.M. La Bonnardière, *Recherches de chronologie augustiniennne*, Paris 1965; H. Chadwick, *Augustine*, Oxford 1986.
41. The first public library in Carthage was



- destroyed in 146 B.C. As its books were not considered valuable enough to be worth taking back to Rome as spoils of war, all of them except a geographical treatise by Mago were abandoned to their fate. In the reign of Antoninus Pius a monumental new library was built south of the Forum: this was the *bibliotheca publica* mentioned by Apuleius of Madaura, which survived until the Byzantine period. See Staikos II, 293-295.
42. Flavius Mallius (Manlius) Theodorus, who held a number of high offices including the consulship in 399, also had intellectual interests. He wrote a treatise on metre (*De metris*), as well as works on astronomy and philosophy which have not survived. See *RE* 70; *PLRE* 1, 900-902.
43. See A.H. Travis, 'Marius Victorinus: A biographical note', *HThR* 36 (1943) 83-90; and on the translations of the philosophical works see P. Courcelle, 'Du nouveau sur la vie et les oeuvres de Marius Victorinus', *REA* 64 (1962) 127-135; W. Theiler, *Porphyrius und Augustin*, Halle 1933.
44. See C. Boyer, *Christianisme et Néo-Platonisme dans la formation de saint Augustin*, Rome 1953<sup>2</sup>; M.F. Sciacca, *Saint Augustin et le Néoplatonisme. La possibilité chrétienne*, Louvain 1956; A. Armstrong, *St. Augustine and Christian Platonism*, Villanova 1967.
45. Cicero's *Hortensius*, now lost with the exception of about a hundred short passages, was instrumental in directing Augustine towards a deeper philosophical outlook on life (*Conf.*, 3.4-7): see P. MacKendrick and K.L. Singh, *The Philosophical Books of Cicero*, London 1989. With regard to Cicero's influence on St. Augustine in general, see M. Testard, *Saint Augustin et Cicéron*, 2 vols., Paris 1958.
46. See P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris 1948; B. Altaner, 'Augustinus und die griechische Patristik. Eine Einführung und Nachlese zu den quellenkritischen Untersuchungen', *RBen* 62 (1952) 201-215.
47. Aug., *Epist. ad Hier.*, 131.21 = *PL*, XXII, 1135.
48. Aug., *Epist. ad Hier.*, 67 = *PL*, XXII, 647.
49. Aug., *Epist. ad Hier.*, 104.3 = *PL*, XXII, 832.
50. Aug., *Epist. ad Opt.*, 144.9 = *PL*, XXII, 1186.
51. Aug., *Epist. ad Paul.*, 27.4 = *PL*, XXXIII, 109. Firmus was a cleric in St. Augustine's inner circle and enjoyed his absolute confidence. He acted as Augustine's confidential messenger, so to speak, carrying letters from him to various correspondents of his and bringing back their replies, as in the case of Jerome when the latter was living in Bethlehem: see Aug., *Epist.*, CXCI, CC.
52. *De civitate Dei* is a work of apologetics in which Augustine sets out to prove that the Christians were in no way responsible for the fall of Rome, for the pagans maintained that the catastrophe was a manifestation of divine displeasure at the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire by Theodosius and the simultaneous confiscation of all the treasures belonging to pagan temples: see J.C. Guy, *Unité et structure de la Cité de Dieu, de saint Augustin*, Paris 1961; J. O'Meara, *Charter of Christendom: The significance of the City of God*, New York 1961.
53. Aug., *Serm.*, 105.
54. Cicero's influence is apparent in the great works that Augustine started writing during his term as Bishop of Hippo (396-



- 420), such as *De doctrina Christiana*, *De trinitate* and *De civitate Dei*.
55. See Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques*.
  56. See p. 3.
  57. See pp. 53 and 61 respectively.
  58. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I.8.9, I.29.2, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1937, pp. 30, 74.
  59. Ildefonsus, *De viris illustribus*, 4 = PL, XCVI, 200.
  60. See Staikos III, 283 ff.
  61. On the manuscripts surviving from the Late Roman and medieval periods see the study by B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. M. Gorman, Cambridge University Press, 1994; and for a general survey of the manuscript tradition from those periods see E.A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 12 vols., Oxford 1934-1971 (= Lowe 1-12).
  62. See O. Jahn, 'Über die Subscriptionen in den Handschriften römischer Klassiker', in *Berichte der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Leipzig 1851, 354; A. Reifferscheid, *De latinorum codicum subscriptionibus commentariolum*, Bratislava 1872, 5.
  63. See Reifferscheid, *De latinorum*, 5.
  64. See Lowe, 3, 296.
  65. See Lowe, 5, 571.
  66. Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (ca. 345-402) came from a prominent and wealthy family and received an excellent education in Gaul, concentrating on rhetoric. He attained high office (Pontifex major) and made a name as the greatest orator of his day. Being firmly committed to pagan religion, he was acclaimed by the pagans in the Roman Senate as their champion in the struggle against the Christian emperors. In Gaul he made the acquaintance of Ausonius, who dedicated

to him a poem on the number three. See G.W. Bowersock, *Symmachus and Ausonius*, Paris 1986; and on his life and work generally see S. Christo, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus: A political and social biography*, doctoral dissertation, New York 1974.

Symmachus kept up a voluminous correspondence with his contemporaries, which was collected and published by his son, Fabius Memmius, after his death. The nine hundred letters fill ten books. By virtue of their style and content, the letters soon became extremely popular and were so highly valued that forgeries of them were circulating in the market. Symmachus's knowledge was limited to Latin authors – he was ignorant of ancient Greek writings, although he cites the view of the Neoplatonists – and he concentrated mainly on the writers who were taught in school, such as Terence, Virgil, Sallust and Cicero. It was his interest that led to the reappraisal of Livy. On his letters see J.F. Mathews, 'The Letters of Symmachus', in J.W. Binns (ed.), *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, London 1974, 58-99.

Symmachus gathered a circle round him – 'Symmachus's circle', as Macrobius calls it in his *Saturnalia* – which included various prominent persons who were in favour of retaining the old Roman customs and religious practices.

67. Virius Nicomachus Flavianus was a politician and historian who held high office under Emperor Theodosius. He was involved in the putsch in favour of the usurper Eugenius, with the result that he committed suicide in 394. Like Symmachus, he fought to keep the Roman cultural heritage and ancient religion



alive, while simultaneously flirting with philosophy: he translated and edited works of the Second Sophistic, including the biography of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus. See the article by O. Seeck, 'Virius Nicomachus Flavianus', *Hermes* 41 (1906).

68. See A. Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)*, Rome 1956, 288.

69. See H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354*, Paris 1953, 45-46.

70. Among the books Gregory gave to Theodolinda were a copy of his own *Dialogues* and a Gospel book of which only the priceless binding survives; the Gospel book is now in Monza Cathedral. See Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4.5 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Longob. et Ital.*, 117).

71. See pp. 80-84.

72. See p. 126.

73. See p. 35.

74. On the first monastic libraries see pp. 80-84.

75. See C.H. Beeson, 'The Palimpsests of Bobbio', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 6 (Studi e Testi 126), Vatican City 1946, 162-184.

76. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, 11.

77. Eucherius († ca. 450) was a member of Sidonius's circle and one of the group of authors attached to the Monastery of Lérins, founded in 410 by Honoratus, a distinguished aristocrat. Among those many men of letters who were instrumental in preserving the Greek language in southern Gaul were Hilary of Arles († 410), Vincent of Lérins († ante 450) and Faustus of Riez († ca. 490).

78. See B. Bischoff, 'Der Fronto-Palimpsest der Mauriner', *Sitzungsberichte der bayeri-*

*schen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 2 (1958) 26.

79. See the comments in Lowe, 6, XIII-XIV.

80. See E.A. Lowe, 'The Codex Bezae and Lyons', *Journal of Theological Studies* 14 (1913) 385-388 (Lowe, 2, 140).

81. See E.A. Lowe, 'Greek Symptoms in a Sixth-Century Manuscript of St. Augustine and in a Group of Latin Legal Manuscripts', in *Didascaliae: Studies in honor of Anselm A. Abbareda*, New York 1961, 279-289.

82. Gildas and Pelagius were the only sixth-century authors familiar with the Roman poetic tradition, to judge by their writings. In fact it is clear from their work that they possessed or had access to book collections containing not only patristic writings and the Bible, which one would expect, but also works by Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, Orosius and others. See M. Lapidge, 'Gildas's Education and the Latin Culture of Sub-Roman Britain', in M. Lapidge and D. Dumville, *Gildas: New approaches*, Cambridge 1984, 25-50; and on the subject of the books he would have been able to consult see N. Wright, 'Gildas's Reading: A survey', *Sacris erudiri* 32 (1991) 121-262.

83. See Lowe, 2, 159.

84. *Ibid.*, 5, 684.

85. See J.B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick and his Place in History*, London, 1905; A.B.E. Hood, *St. Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu's Life*, London/Chichester 1978.

86. See B. Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Seville', *MS I*, 180-187.

87. See B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *MS I*, 237-238; *Id.*, 'Turning-

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- points in the History of Latin Exegesis in Early Middle Ages', tr. Colm O'Grady, in *Biblical Studies: The medieval Irish contribution*, ed. M. McNamara, Dublin 1976, 105.
88. See B. Bischoff, 'Il monachismo irlandese nei suoi rapporti col continente', *MS I*, 199.
  89. For a brief history of Luxeuil and Bobbio Abbeys see p. 158.
  90. See E.A. Lowe, 'The Script of Luxeuil: A title vindicated', *Revue bénédictine* 63 (1953) 132-142.
  91. On Perrona Scottorum see L. Traube, 'Perrona Scottorum', *VA* 3, 111-112.
  92. See p. 109; also Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, 1.29.
  93. See E.A. Lowe, *English Uncial*, Oxford 1960; B. Bischoff, 'Anzeige von E.A. Lowe, *English Uncial*, Oxford 1960', *MS* 2, 328-339; E.A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian Manuscript from Würzburg and its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3 (1928) 3-15.
  94. See B. Bischoff and Virginia Brown, 'Addenda to Codices Latini Antiquiores', *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985) 351-352.
  95. The collection of books amassed by Benedict Biscop is attested by Bede: see Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, XX, in *Historia Abbatum*, Ch. II (ed. C. Plummer: *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam...*, 2 vols., Oxford 1896, 331, 375). For more on the Wearmouth-Jarrow library and its founder see p. 116 herein.
  96. Wilfrid, Bishop of York, was an Anglo-Saxon nobleman who was sent at the age of thirteen to be a novice at Lindisfarne Priory. To complete his studies and broaden his knowledge, he chose to go to Rome: see Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1927. Apparently he had already acquired a good educational grounding at Lindisfarne thanks to the priory's fine library: *et aliquantos libros didicit* (Eddius), *et aliquot codices* (Bede, *Hist.*, V.19).
  97. See Bede, *Historia*, V, XVIII (Plummer, *op. cit.*, 320-321). See also p. 116 herein.
  98. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, 14.
  99. See M.L.W. Laistner, *Bedaе Venerabilis Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio*, Cambridge Mass. 1939, XXXIX.
  100. See Lowe, 9, 1423 α-β.
  101. See P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare, VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Seuil, 1962, 426 ff.
  102. See Lowe, 9, 1430 a-b.
  103. *Ibid.*, 6, 738.
  104. See pp. 122-125.
  105. See Lowe, 1, 107 (= saec. vii ex) and 10, 37 (= saec. vii).
  106. See Lowe, 'The Script of Luxeuil: A title vindicated', *op. cit.*, 132-142.
  107. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, 16.
  108. *Ibid.*
  109. See Lowe, 1, 117.
  110. See Riché, *Éducation*, 401 ff. No Spanish library catalogues survive from that period, but on the evidence of the private libraries of Isidore of Seville and Bishop Braulio of Saragossa and other indications, such as the analysis of a manuscript which comes from a Spanish scriptorium, dates from the eighth century and contains works by Eucherius, Cicero and others, it can be surmised that the manuscript in question was based on a richly-stocked library. See Riché, *op. cit.*, 403.
  111. The work of Isidore of Seville, the only Spanish writer who had an internation-



al career, as we have seen, was the figurehead of Spanish intellectual life throughout the second half of the seventh century and gave his name to what is known as the 'Isidorian Renaissance'. The Council of Toledo hailed him as 'the wisest man of his age' in 653, Ildefonsus of Toledo imitated his style and the author of the *Vita Fructuosi* saw him as the man who 'will revive the standards of Roman scholarship'.

112. See p. 67.

113. See C.H. Lynch, *Saint Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (631-651), his life and writings*, Washington 1938, 157, no. 35.

114. See Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung', 179-194.

115. See R.P. Robinson, *Manuscripts 27 (s. 29) and 107 (s. 129) of the Municipal Library of Autun* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 16), Rome 1939.

116. Lowe, 7, 918.

117. Lowe, 1, 44.

118. Lowe, 4, 468 a-b.

119. Lowe, 4, 515.

120. This is attested by manuscripts written at Lucca around the year 800: see L. Schiaparelli, *Il codice CCCCXC della Biblioteca capitolare di Lucca*, Rome 1924.

121. Lowe, 4, 433.

122. Lowe, 8, 1162 and 8, 1163.

123. On these abbeys see pp. 158, 167 and 160 respectively.

124. See B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, I: *Die bayerischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1974<sup>3</sup>, and II: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1980; K. Forstner, *Die karolingischen Handschriften und Fragmente in den Salzburger Bibliotheken*, Salzburg 1962.

125. See G.E.M. De Ste. Croix, 'Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted? A rejoinder', *Past and Present* 27 (1964), 28-33; Id., 'Ο Χριστιανισμός καὶ ἡ Ρώμη. Διωγμοί, Αἵρεσεις καὶ Ἡθῆ', compiled by D.I. Kyrattas, tr. Ioanna Kralli, Athens, MIET, 2005, 27-115.

126. For the imperial decrees referring to the burning of books by heretics, see Staikos III, 58-65.

127. See Staikos III, 134-136.

128. The persecution was directed not against those who embraced Christianity, but rather against those who refused to recognize other gods: see De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός', 93-96.

129. I. (a) All Christian churches (and probably all houses in which the Scriptures might be found) were to be destroyed. (b) All copies of the Scriptures and other liturgical books were to be handed in and burnt, and all the churches' liturgical utensils and similar possessions were to be confiscated. (c) All meetings for Christian worship were banned.

See Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII.2.4 ('On the Martyrs of Palestine').

130. In the East, the handing over of sacred books by the faithful was not considered an act of betrayal (*traditio*): rather it was deemed to be a religious offence committed under duress and indeed a sacrifice (*sacrificatio*). What is more, in none of the martyrologies circulating in the eastern provinces is there any mention of *traditio*, nor is there any Greek term corresponding to the Latin word as used by the Western Church.

131. See De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός', 151.

132. See De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός', 154-156.

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133. *Ibid.*, 193-194. On the subject of martyrologies see N.H. Baynes, *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, 790-793.
134. The concept of a 'sacred book', that is a book that embodies a specific religious message and is therefore an object of veneration and also a symbol of a religion, has its roots in the East: in Egyptian religion and even more in Judaism. See L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum*, Bonn 1960, 3-39.
135. See, for example, E.R. Curtius, 'Schrift- und Buchmetaphorik in der Weltliteratur', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 20 (1942) 373-377; J. Leclercq, 'Aspects spirituels de la symbolique du livre au XIIe siècle', in *L'homme devant Dieu: Mélanges offerts au père Henri de Lubac*, vol. 2, Paris 1964, 63-64.
136. See 'Explanatio nominum Domini', in *Poetae Christiani Minores*, I, Vienna 1888 (= CSEL, 16), 249.
137. See A. Petrucci, 'The Christian Concept of the Book in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries', in Id., *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the history of written culture*, ed. & tr. C.M. Radding, New Haven/London, Yale University press, 1995, 19-42.
138. Jer., *Cont. Vigil.*, 7 = PL, XXIII, 361.
139. On the earliest pictorial representations taken as models for the illustration of the Gospels and certain scenes in other books of the Bible, see generally: J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3, Freiburg im Breisgau 1917; F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine: Corpus Christi College MS 286*, Cambridge 1954, pls. III & XVIa; E. Rosenbaum, 'The Evangelist Portraits of the Ada School and Their Models', *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956) 81-90.
140. See P. McGurk, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible', in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its production, decoration and use*, ed. R. Gameson, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 1.
141. *Ibid.*
142. See Bischoff and Brown, 'Addenda to Codices', 317-338.
143. See D. Ganz, 'Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: The Carolingian Bibles from Tours', in *The Early Medieval Bible*, 53-62; R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: The Tours anomaly', in *The Early Medieval Bible*, 63-77.
144. BN lat. 9380; BM 7; Stiftsbibliothek 75; Trésor de la Cathédrale, s.n.
145. See E.A. Lowe, *English Uncial*, Oxford 1960, 9-13.
146. See R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Uncial: A context for the Lothar Psalter', *British Library Journal* 16 (1990) 1-15, with reference to a majuscule copy of the Bible dated before 800, now at Abbeville (Bibliothèque Municipale, 4.1); see also Lowe, VI, 704.
147. Stiftsbibliothek, 1395 (pp. 7-327).
148. Jer., *Epist.* 22, 32: *Inficitur membrana colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur et nudus ante fores earum Christus emoritur.*
149. Biblioteca Queriniana, s.n. (Lowe, III, 281).
150. On the Codex Argenteus see J.-O. Tjäder, 'Der Codex argenteus in Uppsala und der Buchmeister Viliaric in Ravenna', *Studia Gothica* (Stockholm) 1972, 144-164.
151. Dublin, Trinity College 58 (Lowe, II,



- 274). See P. Meyvaert, 'The Book of Kells and Iona', *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989) 6-19.
152. One of the innovations introduced by scribes using the Insular group of scripts was the replacement of the continuous script (*scriptio continua*) by words written according to their grammatical values: see M.B. Parkes, 'Insular Scribes and the "Grammar of Legibility"', in *Grafia e interpunzione del latino medioevo*, ed. A. Maierù, Rome 1987, 15-29.
153. On the date of the Lindisfarne Gospels in relation to the translation of St. Cuthbert's relics in 698, see T.J. Brown in T.D. Kendrick et al., *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, II vols, Olten/Lausanne, 1956-1960.
154. See D. Ganz, 'Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1971) 23-44 (30).
155. J. Garet's edition of Cassiodorus's works has yet to be superseded by any more complete collection. For the most recent literature on Cassiodorus see p. 19.
156. Symmachus encouraged Boethius to foster the study of Aristotle and Plato in the West using Latin translations of their works. Boethius's interests were not limited to philosophy but extended also to religion, especially the writings of the Greek Church Fathers such as Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, John Chrysostom and many others, most of whose works were unknown in the West. Boethius was not alone in his endeavours, for at least three Roman senators are known to have been interested in theological debate: the patrician Senarius, a relative of Ennodius; Faustus, probably the consul of 490; and Albinus, whom Theodoric later accused of treason. Another member of this circle was Dionysius Exiguus, a Greek from Scythia who was close to Cassiodorus and spent his life translating theological, philosophical and ecclesiastical writings from Greek into Latin: see A. Momigliano, 'Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of his Time', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41 (1955) 212-213. On Symmachus and his circle see pp. 12, 41 herein.
157. The event is mentioned by Cassiodorus in his *Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1937, 149, 15: *quem in bibliotheca Romae nos habuisse atque studiose legisse retinemus*.
158. The story of the founding of this academy is told by Cassiodorus in the Preface to his *Institutiones*, 3.1-19. On the archaeological finds from Nisibis see H.-I. Marrou, 'Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit', *MEFR* 48 (1931) 124-169. For further reading about the academy see N. Pigulevskaja, 'Istorija nisibijskoj Akademii, Istochniki po istorii sirijskoj skoly', *Palestiniskij Sbornik* 17 (80) (1967) 90-109; G. Fiaccadori, 'Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985) 135-137.
159. See p. 19.
160. See *Inst.*, 62.13.
161. See Courcelle, *Les lettres*, 318-319.
162. See *Inst.*, 30.1.
163. See p. 154.
164. See R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Art of the Codex Amiatinus' (Jarrow Lecture 1967), *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 32 (1969) 24; Karen Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the Institutiones of Cassiodorus', *Scriptorium* 41 (1987) 3-34.
165. See P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans*



- l'occident barbare, VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Seuil, 1962, 140 ff., esp. 151, 154 on the novices' curriculum.
166. See Riché, *Éducation*, 155.
167. See Riché, *Éducation*, 156-157.
168. On the Rule of St. Benedict see p. 35.
169. In the Monastery of Studius in Constantinople, Abbot Theodore drew up a Rule (*hypotyposis*) in the late eighth century which included regulations governing the running of the library and the monks' private reading. There were special clauses detailing the rules for the copyists' work in the scriptorium and the care and maintenance not only of the codices but of the writing implements and materials as well: see N.X. Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Βιβλιογραφικὸν Ἐργαστήριον τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου*, Athens 1967; and, more generally, Staikos III, 187-191.
170. See Staikos II, 161-167.
171. See generally P. Christophe, *L'usage chrétien du droit de propriété dans l'écriture et la tradition patristique* (Collection Théologie, Pastorale et Spiritualité, XIV), Paris 1964.
172. Two cases in point are Jerome, who received financial backing from Marcella and Paula, and Paulinus of Nola: see p. 53.
173. See p. 54.
174. Titivillus was believed to be a demon who lived in scriptoria and, working under Lucifer's orders, caused scribes to make mistakes in their copying. For more on the subject see Drogin, M., *Medieval Calligraphy: Its history and technique*, London 1980.
175. On the collaboration between the abbeys of St. Gallen and Reichenau, see p. 168.

On the relationship between Reichenau and the Abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris, see J. Vezin, 'Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria pendant le Haut Moyen Age', *Bibliologia* 3 (1986) 17-39.

176. Cf. the contribution of Gozbert to St. Gallen Abbey see pp. 168 and 176 respectively.
177. For a succinct study of these matters see P. Ganz, 'The role of the book in medieval culture', ed. P. Ganz, *Bibliologia* 3 (1986).
178. For example, in 806 Abbot Waldo of Reichenau was appointed to succeed Farulf as Abbot of Saint-Denis, on the orders of Charlemagne himself: see E. Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo, Begründer des goldenen Zeitalters der Reichenau*, Leipzig 1924.

It should be added that in the course of these contacts between the two abbeys, which continued for about forty years, Vadilleoz, the brother of Heito (Abbot of Reichenau, 806-822), was also a monk at Tours: when he moved there he took with him all his books, some of which had been copied at the famous scriptorium of Reichenau. See P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I, Munich 1918, 236; M. Hartig, 'Die Klosterschule und ihre Männer', in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, II, Munich 1924, 621.

179. The fame of Cluny Abbey in the eleventh century, for example, was such that it attracted men of all ages from northern Europe, and some of them influenced the form of the script used in manuscripts written during that period: see M.-C. Garand, 'Le scriptorium de Cluny,



carrefour d'influences', *Journal des Savants* (1977) 257-283; J. Vezin, 'Une importante contribution à l'étude du "Scriptorium" de Cluny à la limite des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Scriptorium* XXI (1967) 312-320.

180. In the eleventh century, scriptoria at Tours and Saint-Amand developed into bookshops: see J. Deshusses, 'Chronologie des grands sacramentaires de Saint-Amand', *Revue bénédictine* 87 (1977) 230-237.

CHAPTER II  
*New Developments  
in the Methods  
of Book Production  
and Distribution*







III

ROMAN

AND

EARLY MEDIEVAL BRITAIN





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## ROMAN AND EARLY MEDIEVAL BRITAIN

### *The Spread of Christianity, Monasteries, The Cultivation of Learning and the Book Centers*

**H**istorical background. The part of Europe where the traces of Roman civilization are faintest is England, for by the penultimate decade of the first century A.D. the Roman military presence in south-east Britain was on the wane and the Romans were obliged to expand to the west and north, where they founded two provinces; in the third century these two were subdivided to make a total of four.<sup>1</sup> The outcome was the creation of thirteen 'city-states', whose boundaries usually coincided with those of the Celtic tribes living there. Roads were built and the Roman landowners set themselves up in large villas.<sup>2</sup> In the latter part of the second century Celtic tribes from Scotland started systematically harrying the Romans and disputing their sovereignty, and in 367 the situation took a grave turn for the worse when the Picts and Scots, as well as Saxon pirates from the east, forced the Romans to cede large tracts of Britain to the Saxons in return for military service as Roman auxiliaries. In 383 the Roman governor of Britain revolted and crossed over to the Continent accompanied by the remaining Roman troops, never to return.

An immediate consequence of the Romans' departure from Britain was a revolt of the Celtic tribes, and by 430 most of Britain was probably ruled by Vortigern, a Celt, who is said to have requested help from the Saxons of Denmark and Germany in consolidating his grip on power. By 500 the Germans had overrun the south-east of Britain, but their advance was halted by the Celtic leader Aurelius Ambrosianus. As early as 600 the Welsh ballad *Gododdin* makes a reference to a legendary British (Celtic) hero named Arthur,<sup>3</sup> and it may be that the original of the legendary Arthur was either Aurelius Ambrosianus or the British Arthur of Wales. At all events, excavations at Cadbury have brought to light a large palace which some have identified as Camelot, though of course that is not enough to connect it with King Arthur as a historical person.

*The Romans leave  
the British Isles*

1. The monk Eadwin, nicknamed 'the prince of calligraphers'. Illumination in an annotated Psalter written at Christ Church, Canterbury, mid 12th c. Cambridge, Trinity College (Ms R. 17.1, fo. 283v).





2. Ecclesiastical centres and libraries in England and the Celtic lands in the seventh century.



The German invaders then advanced along the broad valleys of the Thames basin and later joined forces with the Celts, leaving the Saxons to rule over the more southerly and westerly regions, while the Angles held sway in central Britain. Our most valuable source of information on the tribes of Britain remains Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.<sup>4</sup>

**The propagation of Christianity in the British Isles.** The spread of Christianity in Britain was largely due to papal policy and the tolerance shown by the Church towards pagan customs. The Germans equated their ruler with the gods of every tribe and the Christian missionaries set out to convert the local kings before preaching the word of God to their subjects, since every king was deemed to have divine attributes as a descendant of Wotan, the chief of the gods. The Celtic deities were one with nature, impersonal beings that lived in sacred expanses of water or on mountains. One thing they all had in common was their warlike character, and accordingly the Christian missionaries laid great emphasis on the heroic exploits of Old Testament figures and on Jesus' words: 'I came not to send peace, but a sword.' Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) advised the missionaries to adapt the Celtic rites to those of the Christians, to consecrate the pagan shrines for use as Christian churches and to replace the pagan idols with relics of saints. In this way the process of proselytism would stay as close as possible to the ancient religious tradition.

Christianity reached Ireland in the late fourth or early fifth century, that is at the very time when Pope Gregory, perturbed by reports of the Angles' and Saxons' idolatrous ways, sent out a mission of monks headed by Augustine in 596 to bring Britain back on to the path to Christ.<sup>5</sup> The missionaries came into contact with an earlier Celtic Christian tradition brought from Ireland to Scotland by St. Columbanus, who founded a monastery on the islet of Iona in 565.<sup>6</sup> The Celtic monks did not confine their activity to Britain but roved further afield – to Gaul – in about 590, led by St. Columbanus, who penetrated as far as the court of Gontran, the Frankish king of Burgundy. In that area he founded a number of monasteries, the greatest of which was to be the Abbey of Luxeuil.<sup>7</sup>

*Gregory the Great's  
 mission*

**The nature of monastic schooling.** Monastic education in the British Isles differed materially from monastic education in continental Europe, partly because a vernacular literary tradition came into being as early as the eighth century. Furthermore, Latin was completely unknown in the North, and so the Church made no objection to – in fact it sometimes encouraged – the use of the language of



everyday life in literature, even for stories from the Bible. By the eighth century there were already Gospel books in circulation written in Anglo-Saxon, rendering Holy Writ in a heroic style and portraying Jesus and his disciples as fighting for the triumph of their faith.<sup>8</sup> One of the most moving religious poems ever written is the Anglo-Saxon *Dream of the Rood* (or *Dream of the Cross*): a mortal has a vision in which he sees and hears Jesus' cross talking about its transformation from a tree into a Christian symbol.<sup>9</sup>

In Britain the aristocratic Celtic abbots found themselves taking over as custodians of Graeco-Roman learning. St. Patrick, who had converted Ireland in the early fifth century, had evidently studied under Greek teachers,<sup>10</sup> and during the early Middle Ages Ireland was the only major centre of Greek studies remaining in northern Europe.<sup>11</sup> The Irish monks were more receptive to the Latin classics than the Benedictines and accordingly they ran the best schools in Europe in the early seventh century.<sup>12</sup> The English abbots did not take the lead in the field of education until after the Synod of Whitby (656), when Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (669-690), established an episcopal system of organization and also founded a great school, many of whose alumni rose to be abbots of Benedictine monasteries in southern England.<sup>13</sup>

In the seventh century an English nobleman founded a monastery at Jarrow in Northumbria, which developed into the most important educational centre in northern England. It was there that Bede, the greatest of all Anglo-Saxon scholars,<sup>14</sup> was a monk. And yet, for all their achievements, the English and Irish monastic schools did not establish a tradition of classics teaching, as they sent so many scholars to the hinterland of Europe that in time the study of Latin fell into desuetude in England itself: King Alfred of Wessex, for example, complained that there was no longer anyone in England capable of reading Gregory the Great in the original Latin. Another obstacle to the development of classical education was that there was no revival of the liberal arts in English schools, whereas Columbanus's monasteries deliberately limited their religious instruction; and so, although Bede was personally in favour of Roman educational practices, in his writings we find no mention of the liberal arts.<sup>15</sup>

The history of the formation of book collections, which generally grew to be the nuclei of monastic libraries both on the offshore islands of Great Britain and in Ireland, dates from the time of the Celts. On the available evidence it is hard to ascertain the cultural level of the various small Celtic kingdoms in the late sixth century, in contrast to some districts of Wales, from where most of our information has come down to us thanks to the inscriptions and hagiographical writings that have been





3. Miniature of St. Luke the Evangelist in the so-called Gospel of St. Augustine, which was copied in Italy (perhaps in Rome) in the late sixth century and is traditionally associated with Augustine's mission to Canterbury. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (Ms 286, fo. 129v).



The - North View of WHITBY A



To the R.<sup>t</sup> Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Algernon Earl of Hartford, Son & Heir Apparent to his Grace the Duke of Somerset; Baron Percy &c: Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Sussex, Captain of the Second Troop of Horse Guards; and Governour of Tynemouth Castle, This Prospect is humbly Inscrib'd by  
my Lord.

Y.<sup>r</sup> Lordship's most humble, &  
Obed.<sup>t</sup> Serv.<sup>t</sup> S. Buck



# the North Riding of *YORKSHIRE*



Osfray King of Northumberland having slain Penda the Saxon King of Mercia, and vanquish'd all his power, gave Strensbalch, now Whitley w.<sup>th</sup> the lands and twelve Capital now Mannour houses A.D. 655. to be converted into religious Convents, in completion of a vow for the said Victory. It was first a Nunnery begun by Hilda a lady of great devotion. But destroy'd by the Danes; and above two hundred Years after restor'd into a house of Benedictine Monks, by William de Percy, who A.D. 1067. devoted the said Abbey, town of Whitley and Members thereof to God, St. Peter, St. Hilda, and Monks serving God there for ever Since which, the Benefactors of this rare Abbey, which by its eminent Situation Commands a delightfull prospect upon the German Ocean, have beside the said W.<sup>m</sup> de Percy been not a few.

Annua<sup>l</sup> Valuation { Dugdale... 437  
Sp. .... 505



preserved from those parts.<sup>16</sup> In Wales, as in Ireland, the monasteries developed into repositories of learning, and they built up collections of all kinds of works of classical as well as Christian literature. One of the first monasteries in Wales showing evidence of this trend was the priory founded by St. Illtyd on Caldey Island.<sup>17</sup> Another, in the north, was the monastery of Bangor Is-Coed, where the monks studied secular literature in addition to the scriptures and devotional books.<sup>18</sup> The biographers of St. Illtyd specifically state that his monks studied the liberal arts and then imparted their knowledge to their pupils.<sup>19</sup> This pattern of education may



5. Aldhelm presents his book to Abbess Hildelith and the nuns of Barking. Drawing in a manuscript of Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, copied at Canterbury in the late tenth century. London, Lambeth Palace Library (Ms 200 [Part II], fo. 68v).

have had its origin in the influence exerted on the Welsh monks by Irish monasteries, where – according to various Latin sources – some Roman traditions had been preserved.<sup>20</sup>

When Pope Gregory the Great decided to send a special mission to England to reorganize the Christian Church there, he chose the kingdom of Kent as the starting-point of its work of proselytism.<sup>21</sup> Augustine, the leader of the papal mission, settled at Canterbury, was consecrated bishop and a year later founded a monastery which he dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.<sup>22</sup> The mission-

aries in his team were not Augustine's only companions, for he brought with him a number of books, more likely to have been patristic writings and liturgical books than works of Latin literature, as some believe.<sup>23</sup> From the kingdom of Kent the missionaries from Rome went on to try to bring the old diocese of York back under the authority of the Roman Church, a project in which they encountered great difficulties and were subjected to great trials and tribulations.<sup>24</sup>

A second mission to Canterbury from the Holy See in 668 set in motion the great change in the systematic collection of books that took place later in the schools and monasteries of that diocese: this was to last for at least a hundred years, that is until Alcuin left York for Charlemagne's court in 778. This mission

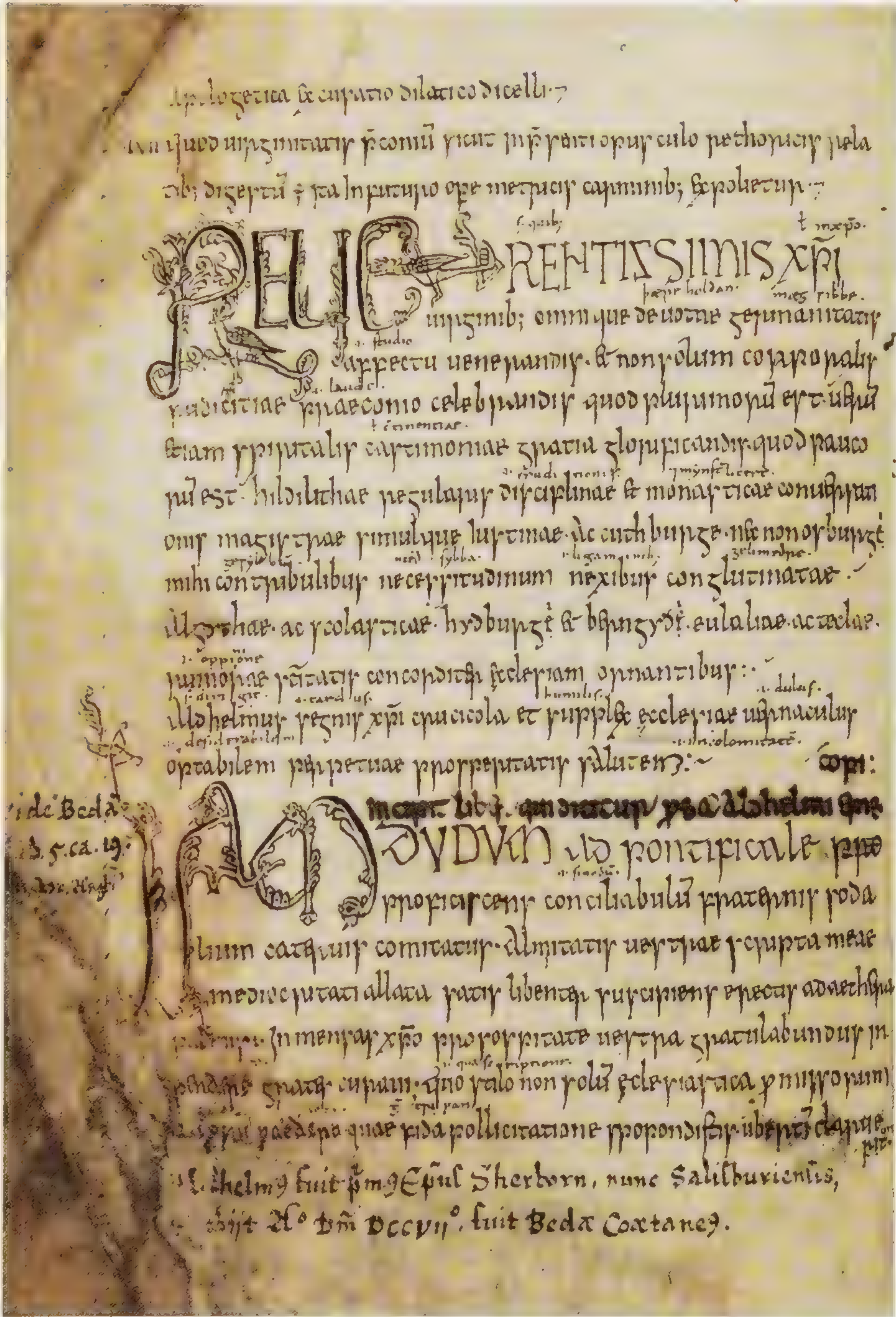


4. Whitby Abbey, North Yorkshire. Engraving made for Algernon, Earl of Hertford, by S. Buck. The abbey was abandoned after a Viking raid in 867.



was headed by Theodore, a Greek from Tarsus,<sup>25</sup> and Adrian of Niridanum in Africa,<sup>26</sup> two churchmen who made the most of their knowledge and experience to establish the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Church throughout Great Britain and its offshore islands. Armed with a large collection of manuscripts, not limited to Christian writings but including works of Latin and Greek literature as well, they enforced a form of educational discipline very similar to that of Cassiodorus at the Vivarium. Bede supplies fuller and more reliable information about the school curriculum Theodore proposed for his pupils and auditors, which included astronomy, prosody, 'ecclesiastical arithmetic', medicine and Greek. This was the first time Greek had been taught in a church school in England, and it was an innovation introduced by the Kent school.<sup>27</sup>

It was not long before Theodore had gathered a following of priests and monks from other parts of England, some of them from Whitby in the north.<sup>28</sup> Theodore's work was not left undone after his death: it was carried on by Abbot Berhtwald, his successor as archbishop, who was well versed in Christian literature.<sup>29</sup> In 731 Berhtwald was succeeded by Tatwin, a monk at a nearby monastery in Wales, who made a name for himself as the author of a short grammar and a book entitled *Enigmas*.<sup>30</sup> Tatwin's teaching work was continued by Nothelm (734-739) and Cuthbert



6. This copy of Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* was written in 'free' Mercia ('free' because outside the Danelaw) for King Alfred's teacher, Bishop Werferth of Worcester, at some time between 872 and 915. London, British Library (Royal Ms 5 F.iii, fo. 2v).



(740-758), who rounded off an unbroken spell of about a hundred years during which the archiepiscopal school of Canterbury established itself as a major educational centre.<sup>31</sup>

Another monastic school that attracted large numbers of students was the one founded by Benedict Biscop in 669. Biscop's work was carried on by Theodore's companion Adrian, who subsequently handed the school on to his pupil Albin. Aldhelm, in one of his letters, corroborates Bede's account of the schooling organized by those two missionary teachers in a passage where he recollects what he had learnt about prosody, psalmody, astronomy, accounting and even Roman law at Biscop's school.<sup>32</sup> This intellectual nursery turned out new teachers whose pupils became teachers in their turn, with the result that some places in the British Isles won a reputation as focal points of medieval schooling and book learning in the eighth and ninth centuries. Aldhelm, for example, took over the reins of the monastic school at Malmesbury, and after his election as abbot he lost no time in building up a fine library there.<sup>33</sup> He himself was so prolific with his pen that he is considered the first English author.<sup>34</sup> Yet the solid foundations laid down for the organization of education in the kingdom of Kent were not enough to weaken the pull exerted by Irish schools on the Anglo-Saxons:<sup>35</sup> Aldhelm himself lamented the fact that so many young men travelled to Ireland to study grammar, geometry, physics and scripture.<sup>36</sup> In spite of everything, however, Aldhelm's persistence and enthusiasm enabled him to make Wessex a 'refuge' and a bastion of Latin education.

Large numbers of monasteries were founded in the kingdoms of southern England and Northumbria, though none of them developed into a major ecclesiastical or educational centre.<sup>37</sup> Even so, after his return from Rome Benedict Biscop<sup>38</sup> chose the kingdom of Northumbria, though politically on the wane, as the place to found two monasteries, which he did at Wearmouth (St. Peter's) and Jarrow (St. Paul's) in 674 and 682 respectively.<sup>39</sup> The schools run by these two monasteries were able to draw on the remarkably well-stocked library that Biscop had managed to acquire, partly from his many visits to Rome and partly by hunting for specific works in order to build up a collection of books sufficiently comprehensive to enable him to bring his educational plans to fruition.<sup>40</sup> After six successive journeys to Gaul and the Italian peninsula, each time with the Vatican as his final destination, he had amassed a large collection including rare books on a variety of subjects; and it must have been a collection of considerable note, to judge by the fact that it included manuscripts from the Monastery of the Vivarium.<sup>41</sup> The culmination of all this bibliophilic activity was the production under Abbot Ceolfrid

*Biscop's role  
in the dissemination  
of knowledge,  
and his successors*

*Wearmouth  
and Jarrow*

*Biscop's  
library*



of the *Codex Amiatinus*, which had been commissioned by Biscop before his death († 689).<sup>42</sup> The educational philosophy that Biscop set out to promote by his work – a philosophy notable in itself – was conspicuously different from the principles



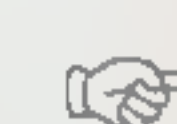
7. Woodcut of the ruins of Lindisfarne Abbey in Northumbria, published by Alex Hogg.

adopted in that other great abbey founded in 635 on Lindisfarne Island, which had probably turned into an anchorites' retreat in the last years of Biscop's life.<sup>43</sup>

*Lindisfarne*

The outstanding example of what Biscop achieved by his educational reforms in these two Northumbrian abbeys is to be seen in the person of Bede and his work. We have already considered Bede's standing in the republic of letters in the early Middle Ages;<sup>44</sup> it remains for us to turn our attention to his achievements in realizing the cherished goals that his mentor, Biscop, had set himself, especially in the matter of enriching the various monastic libraries.

Bede had been entrusted to the care of the monks of Wearmouth at the age of seven; and after completing his studies under Biscop and other teachers he moved



8. *The Codex Aureus. St Matthew the Evangelist*, one of the two surviving illuminations from this Gospel book, copied probably at Canterbury in the mid eighth century. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket (Ms A 135, fo. 9v-11r).







STILNTERO HABENS

[illegible]



### CHAPTER III

#### *Roman and Early Medieval Britain*

with Ceolfrid to the new monastery at Jarrow. There he wrote his first works<sup>45</sup> at the very beginning of the eighth century, and he spent altogether fifty years in the same monastery, studying and following the Rule of his Order: his greatest pleasures were teaching, reading and writing.<sup>46</sup> Having direct access to the library that Biscop had bequeathed to the abbey, and having been brought up on the traditions



9. York Minster. With Cologne Cathedral, it is one of the biggest Gothic churches in northern Europe. Engraving, probably dating from the eighteenth century.



of both Latin and Christian education, he developed the distinctive style that marks all his writings.<sup>47</sup>

A new centre of learning concentrating mainly on the Latin literary tradition, which came into being in Northumbria in Bede's time (678) with the financial backing of Lindisfarne, was Hexham.<sup>48</sup> When Acca,<sup>49</sup> a pupil of Bosa's<sup>50</sup> who had accompanied Wilfrid to Rome, was consecrated bishop of the new diocese, everything changed. A staunch follower of the trends prevailing in the Holy See, Acca turned the diocese of Hexham into a great educational centre, putting together a fine library consisting mainly of theological and liturgical manuscripts;<sup>51</sup> and he also founded a school of Roman psalmody, appointing a certain Maban as its precentor.<sup>52</sup>

From about the first decade of the eighth century the diocese of York rose steadily in stature when a former pupil of Theodore's, John of Beverley,<sup>53</sup> was consecrated Bishop of York and undertook to teach the clergy grammar and psalmody. Egbert,<sup>54</sup> a pupil of Bede's, ascended the episcopal throne of York in 732, and thanks to his family connection with the King of Northumbria the bishopric was elevated to an archbishopric, which added still more to the lustre of the diocesan school. Egbert appointed Aelbert principal of the school,<sup>55</sup> and it was then that Alcuin, who was to become the greatest apostle of literary studies at Charlemagne's court,<sup>56</sup> made his appearance on the scholarly scene of York.

According to Bede, the greatest ecclesiastical centre of the Britons from the early seventh century was the monastery founded in about 560 at Bangor Is-Coed, North Wales, not far from Chester.<sup>57</sup> Men of letters from that monastery travelled to Canterbury for discussions with the members of Augustine's mission in about 600. Gwynedd, the kingdom ruled by King Cadfan (†625), developed much later, in the ninth century, into a centre of learning that attracted scholars even from Ireland and was a staging-post on their route to continental Europe.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile it appears that the community of St. David's Abbey in the south-west of Wales was thoroughly educated at that time.<sup>59</sup> No manuscripts have survived from there, but John Asser's familiarity with the works of St. Augustine, Gregory the Great, Virgil, Sedulius, Aldhelm, Bede and Einhard was derived from his reading in the abbey library.<sup>60</sup> Quite possibly the monks kept an archive of chronographic records of events as they happened,<sup>61</sup> but it was not until two centuries later that Rhygifarch (†1099) wrote the *Life* of the abbey's founder.<sup>62</sup>

Almost the only evidence concerning the books available to men of letters in England in the seventh and eighth centuries comes from the writings of Aldhelm (*ca.* 639-709) and Bede (673-735). A detailed list of the authors they refer to by



name, or whom they quote from, proves that they had a wide knowledge of the classical Latin tradition, but it was acquired at second hand: in general, it came from medieval compilations, such as those of Macrobius and Isidore of Seville, and from treatises and textbooks by contemporary grammarians. Evidently Aldhelm had read Virgil, Lucan, Persius and Juvenal, and from his references it appears that he may perhaps have read Pliny the Elder and a few of Cicero's works.<sup>63</sup>



10. Aldhelm. Unfinished sketch for a portrait of him in a codex of *De virginitate*, written perhaps at Winchester in the early years of the tenth century. London, British Library (Royal Ms 7 D. XXIV, fo. 85v).

The most reliable sources of information on the books that Bede had at his disposal at Jarrow are Bede's own works – both his ecclesiastical and his secular writings. It is clear from the catalogue compiled by Laistner that there was no comparable collection anywhere else in continental or insular Europe.<sup>64</sup> Of the classical authors, Bede cites or mentions Lucan, Macrobius, Pliny the Elder, Vegetius and a large number of grammarians. Of Christian writings he refers to works by Ambrose, Jerome (*Adversus Jovinianum*), Dionysius Exiguus, Orosius, Tyconius, Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*) and others. Out of all these written works, which gave Bede the research material necessary for his own writing, only one manuscript has been identified as having come from his library: it is a Greek-Latin copy of the Acts of the Apostles.

At all events, on the meagre and fragmentary evidence we have concerning the works of Christian and pagan literature accessible at that time to private individuals and public officials in England,

11. The Book of Kells. One of the most exquisite surviving examples of the manuscripts produced from the late seventh to the early ninth century in those parts of Ireland that were open to the influence of Hibernian art. This codex, containing the four Gospels, is to be dated circa 800 and was written on the island of Iona. It was kept in the church at Kells, was stolen in 1007 and was recovered by the parish soon after. Dublin, Trinity College Library (Ms A. I, (58), fo. 183r).





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the corpus of written work then available in England can be described as the most extensive and best documented of its time.

Such evidence as we have today of eighth-century manuscripts from other parts of England is sketchy: it consists of fragments of patristic writings from sundry unidentified ecclesiastical centres. The earliest surviving manuscript in this category is an anthology of poems by Sedulius (*Carmen Paschale*), some poems by Pope Damasus and some muddled versions of the Sibylline prophecies, including those quoted by St. Augustine in *De civitate Dei*. We also have fragments of *De trinitate* and *De consensu evangelistarum*, fragments of Junilius's *Instituta regularia divinae legis* and excerpts from Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*.<sup>65</sup> The strongest indication of the existence of another library in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England is provided by a collection of writings including passages from the lives of saints celebrated annually,<sup>66</sup> in other words martyrologies written in Old English. The compiler of this anthology is anonymous, nor do we know where and when he worked on it. He cites books of the Old and New Testaments, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, Gregory the Great's *Gospel Homilies*, Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, pseudo-Isidore's *De ordine creaturarum*, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit* and many other works.

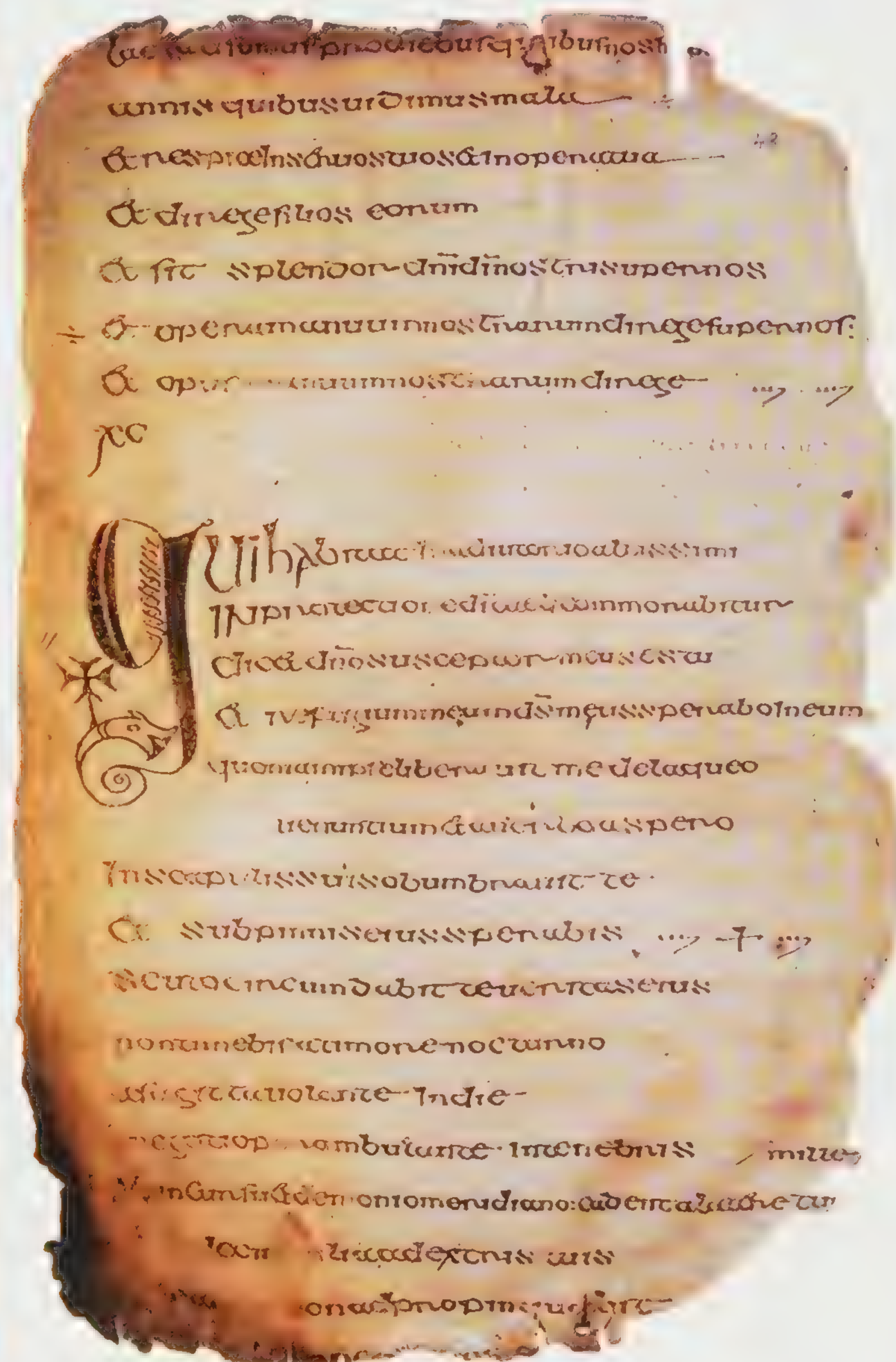
**The origin of the Carolingian Renaissance: The missionary work of the Irish and Anglo-Saxons.** Latin education had taken root in Ireland by the end of the fifth century, though it is not known how widespread it was nor what kinds of books were in circulation there up to the Precarolingian Renaissance<sup>67</sup> among the scholars who founded monasteries, such as St. Finian († 549), the founder of Clonard,<sup>68</sup> and the founders of the abbeys of Bangor,<sup>69</sup> Derry<sup>70</sup> and Iona.<sup>71</sup> The profound knowledge of Latin poetry pervading the work of a literary giant from Ireland, Columbanus (ca. 543-615), most probably has nothing to do with what he had read in Ireland but rather with the period of his life that he spent on the Continent.<sup>72</sup>

The Irish played their most important part in the process of perpetuating the study of the classics once they had started travelling abroad from Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon territories, motivated by a missionary fervour which in the long run proved extremely fruitful in the revival of education based on ancient models.

12. The so-called Arenberg Gospels, transcribed at Canterbury between 1000 and 1020, a characteristic example of the Anglo-Saxon technique and artistic style that predominated in the illumination of luxury manuscripts. Here we see St. Matthew the Evangelist in the centre of an architectural setting with richly-coloured ornamentation. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library (fo. 167).



Columbanus left Bangor with twelve Irish monks and travelled across Gaul until he came to Burgundy, where he settled and founded Luxeuil Abbey.<sup>73</sup> Luxeuil grew to be a monastic nursery, for it in turn was the driving force behind the founding of the abbeys of Corbie,<sup>74</sup> Bobbio<sup>75</sup> in northern Italy in 614 and St. Gallen in Switzerland in about 613.<sup>76</sup>



13. The Cathach of St. Columba, a Psalter known by this name (*cathach* = 'battler') because it was used as a talisman to provide supernatural protection in battle. One of the oldest of all Irish manuscripts, probably written early in the seventh century. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy (Cathach, s.n., fo. 48r).

Willibrord launched his proselytizing mission in Frisia (Friesland) in 690, so inaugurating a period of Anglo-Saxon influence in continental Europe that was to last until the ninth century. His consecration by the Pope as Bishop of the Frisians

Columbanus was soon followed by many other 'Scots' (*Scotti peregrini*, i.e. itinerant Irishmen) who, with their picturesque appearance, were conspicuous all over Europe throughout the eighth and ninth centuries. Notable among them were Virgil of Salzburg,<sup>77</sup> Dungal,<sup>78</sup> Sedulius Scotus<sup>79</sup> and Johannes Scotus Erigena.<sup>80</sup> Although these men of letters were active in the context of the Carolingian Renaissance, they retained the strongly Irish character of their learning, and through Alcuin and others they transmitted much of that character to Carolingian education.<sup>81</sup>

The Irish passed on their passion for learning to the Anglo-Saxons, who in turn were not slow to impart the vitality of their culture to continental Europe. The most famous of them, after Columbanus, were Willibrord (658-739),<sup>82</sup> born and bred in Northumbria, and Boniface (*ca.* 675-754) from Wessex.<sup>83</sup>



marked the beginning of the contact between the Carolingian dynasty and the Holy See. Benedict settled in Germany, where he won the confidence of patrons and dignitaries, and even of Charles Martel himself. The Pope also recognized his outstanding ability and entrusted him with the task of reorganizing and reforming the Frankish Church, as a result of which Germany agreed to put itself permanently under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church.<sup>84</sup>

The growing number of bishops and church dignitaries with a knowledge of the Latin literary tradition turned these places – Mainz,<sup>85</sup> Würzburg<sup>86</sup> and many others, as we shall see – into autonomous educational centres with their own libraries, schools and scriptoria. Nor did the activities of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries stop there, for they went on to found monasteries such as Fulda Abbey,<sup>87</sup> founded by Sturm, a pupil of Boniface, and Hersfeld Abbey, founded in 732 and refounded in 744 by Sturm’s disciple Lullus.<sup>88</sup>

One of the features of Anglo-Saxon education, which the missionaries made much of and tried to impose wherever they went, was its firm commitment to the role of books as teaching aids in the schools and other educational centres attached to monasteries and cathedrals. They travelled with books and with their own private libraries, which they enlarged wherever they stopped on their travels; they brought books and ordered replenishments from their home territories; and they sent repeated appeals to the Holy See, and indeed to the Pope himself, to support their missionary work with ‘books and more books’. They also borrowed books from nearby monasteries and made copies of them, without always returning the originals; and, most importantly, they bequeathed their own collections of manuscripts to the libraries of the monasteries they had founded.







## NOTES

### III

#### Roman and Early Medieval Britain







## NOTES

1. F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1947<sup>2</sup>; P.H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 1956. See generally: H.R. Lyon, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, New York, St. Martin Press, 1962; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.
  2. See J.L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, Oxford 1936; S. Esmond-Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, London, 1989; and more generally G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 357 ff.
  3. See R.S. Loomis, *The Development of Arthurian Romance*, New York, Harper & Row, 1963; *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.S. Loomis, Oxford 1959.
  4. On Bede and his valuable work see pp. 121-122.
  5. See A. Angenedt, 'The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons considered against the background of the early medieval Mission', *Settimane ... di Spoleto*, XXXII, 748-781; N.E. Karapidakis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Δύσης (5ος-11ος αἰ.)*, Athens, Alexandria, 1996, 87-88. On Augustine's mission see p. 115 herein.
  6. On Columbanus and the monasteries he founded in continental Europe see p. 126.
  7. On monastic life in England in general, see Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006; see p. 144 herein.
  8. See *The Heliand*, tr. Marianna Scott, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1966, 102. On vernacular literature generally see J. Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*, Dublin 1955; I. Williams, *Studies in Early Welsh Poetry*, Dublin 1944.
- A typical example of the linguistic modifications and neologisms introduced by the Celts in their writings is the *Hisperica famina*, the greatest literary work of the period. The mannerism, the primitive style, the vocabulary and the borrowings – not only from the Latin linguistic heritage but from Greek and Hebrew too – are on an unprecedented scale: see M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: Introduction à l'histoire des écoles carolingiennes*, Paris 1905, 268 ff.
9. See S.A.J. Bradley, «The Dream of the Rood», *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. S.A.J. Bradley, London, Everyman, 1982, 160.
  10. St. Patrick learnt the Celts' language from the Druid high priest Milchu and acquired his general education during the time he spent at the Monastery of St. Martin of Tours: See Cardinal P.F. Moran, 'St. Patrick', *CE XI*, 594-599; P. Grosjean, 'Notes chronologiques sur le séjour de saint Patrick en Gaule', *AB*, 1945, 89 ff.
  11. On the preservation of the classical tradition in Ireland see pp. 125-127.
  12. See P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare VI<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962, 381 ff.
  13. *Ibid.* p. 380 ff.; M. Lapidge, «The school of Theodore and Hadrian», *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), 45-72.
  14. See 'The Northumbrian Monasteries', in A.H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede, his Life, Times*



- and Writings: *Essays in Commemoration of the twelfth centenary of his death*, Oxford 1935, 84 ff.
15. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 367.
  16. See V.E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, Cardiff 1950; and, on the hagiographical writings, A.W. Wade Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, Cardiff 1940.
  17. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 356.
  18. *Ibid.*
  19. On Illtyd and the school discipline he imposed see Roger, *L'enseignement*, op. cit., 228.
  20. See J. Ryan, *Irish Monasticism, Origins and Early Development*, Dublin 1931, 200-216, 360-383; Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 356-359.
  21. See Blair, *An Introduction*, op. cit., 278.
  22. On the mission's taking up residence in Canterbury see A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. V; L. Bréhier and R. Aigrain, *Grégoire le Grand, Les états barbares et la conquête arabe (590-756)*, Paris 1938, 279 ff.; see also R. Gameson (ed.), *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England*, Stroud, Sutton, 1999.
  23. See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, 29, ed. C. Plummer: *Venerabilis Baedae...*, 2 vols., Oxford 1896, I, 63: *Sanctorum reliquas nec non codices plurimos*. However, no later primary or secondary source lists the books that were deposited in the Canterbury diocesan library, and so the question whether or not they included secular works remains open; but the Pope's attitude to the teaching of the liberal arts and ancient literature, which is well attested, makes it likely that secular works were excluded. See also p. 28 herein.
  24. See Riché, *Éducation*, 364; and for more information see P.H. Blair, 'The Bernician and the Northern Frontier', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, Cambridge 1958, 137 ff.
  25. Theodore was living in Rome when he was appointed by the Pope to lead the mission to England. Born in 602 at Tarsus in Cilicia, he was probably educated at Antioch, where his subjects included Syriac language and literature. He then went to Constantinople for further studies in Roman law, rhetoric and philosophy, as well as the use of the horoscope. He had been in Rome since before 660, living probably in the Monastery of Santa Anastasia. See M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative studies on his life and influence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, 4, 17-18.
- A point of interest to book-collectors is that Matthew Parker (1504-1575), the greatest collector of the Elizabethan age, marked nine of his manuscripts with the words 'Liber quondam Theodori archiepiscopi'. Seven of them are in Greek and one in Arabic, while the last is simply a humanistic copy of Cicero's *Rhetorica*: not one of them is earlier than the twelfth century. See T. Graham, 'Matthew Parker's manuscripts: An Elizabethan library and its use', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland to 1640*, vol. I, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, Cambridge University Press, 2005, 333 = *LBI*.
26. Before going on the papal mission Adrian had been Abbot of Nisida, near Naples, and he succeeded Benedict Biscop in the diocesan school at Canterbury, where the curriculum in use was the one introduced by Aldhelm, as attested by Bishop Leutharius in a letter: see Riché, *Éducation*, 421.
  27. See Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 2, 204; on the teaching of Greek, *ibid.* 205; more gener-



- ally, see Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 420-421. Concerning Theodore's and Adrian's lectures on scripture, see B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge (eds.), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1994.
28. Theodore did not found a school but he did teach, and one of his pupils was Oftfor, who had been to Rome for further studies before being consecrated Bishop of Mercia: see Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 23, 254-255.
29. See Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 8.
30. Bede describes him as 'a man illustrious for religion and prudence and excellently instructed in the sacred letters', a description borne out by his short *Grammar* for beginners: see M. Lapidge, 'Tatwine', in *Enc. Engl.*, 440.  
 See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. I, Munich 1911, 203.
31. Nothelm collaborated with Bede on the writing of the *Ecclesiastical History*, as Bede acknowledges in his preface to the book, p. 6.
32. See Riché, *Éducation*, 421-422. Albin was another who helped Bede to collect material for the *Ecclesiastical History*: (Preface, p. 6). Aldhelm, *Epist.* = MGH, AA, XV, 476-477.
33. See M.R. James, *Two Ancient English Scholars, St. Aldhelm and William of Malmesbury*, Glasgow University Publication, 1931, XXII.
34. See Roger, *L'enseignement*, 290-301.
35. Ehfrid, a son of the King of Northumbria, went to Iona for his studies: see Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, xxiv, 236; Roger, *L'enseignement*, 261, on Abbot Adomnán of Iona.
36. Aldhelm, *Epist. ad Ehfrid.*, 5 = MGH, AA, XV, 489.
37. This applies particularly to Mercia, where monasteries were founded at Breedon, near Leicester (where Tatwin was a monk: see p. 115), Lichfield and Crowland, where the monk Félix wrote the *Vita Guthlachi* in about 730: see Riché, *Éducation*, 427.
38. See T. Bucheler, *Benedict Biscop als Pionier römischchristlicher Kultur bei den Angelsachsen*, doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg 1923. See 'The Northumbrian monasteries', ed. Thompson, 84 ff.  
 Benedict Biscop (ca. 628-690), also known as Biscop Baducing, was born of a good Northumbrian family and went to Rome for the first time when he was twenty-five. King Egfrith made him a grant of land in 674 for the purpose of building a monastery in the Roman style. The monastery's library became famous and manuscripts that had been copied there became prized possessions throughout continental Europe. He died in 690.
39. See p. 110.
40. See Bede, *Vita Abb.*, 6, 369.
41. On the Vivarium manuscripts see P. Courcelle, *Les Lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris 1948, 374-375. On the Codex Amiatinus see pp. 82-84 herein.
42. This monastery was founded in 735 on the orders of King Oswald, who asked Aidan to come from Iona, where he was a monk, and installed him on Lindisfarne Island as abbot and bishop. On the monastery's history see Thompson, *Northumbrian*, 60 ff.
43. See Riché, *Éducation*, ö.π., 364-365.
44. See C.E. Whiting «The Life of the Venerable Bede», in Thompson, *Bede: His life*, 5; R. Davies, 'Bede's Early Reading', *Speculum* 8 (1933) 179-194; see also P. Wormald, «Bede and Benedict Biscop», Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Cristi*, London, SPCK, 1976, 141-169.
45. Bede seldom left his monastery: the story



- of his journey to Rome is no more than a legend. See Whiting, *op. cit.*, 12-13.
46. See Roger, *L'enseignement*, 305.
  47. On the libraries of a number of religious foundations including Barking, Crowland, Ely, Gloucester and Lichfield, see D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, London 1971<sup>2</sup>, 463-487.
  48. See Riché, *Éducation*, 431.
  49. On Acca see A.S. Cook, 'The Old English Andreas and Bishop Acca of Hexham', *Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXVI, 245.
  50. Before his consecration as Bishop of York, Bosa had been a monk at Whitby Abbey: see Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 20.
  51. *Ibid.* V, 20: '[Acca] also collected the histories of their sufferings, together with other ecclesiastical books, bringing together there a large and noble library (*bibliotheca*).'
  52. *Ibid.* V, 20.
  53. John of Beverley had been a monk at Whitby: see Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 3.
  54. On Egbert see Roger, *L'enseignement*, 314.
  55. On Aelbert and the library he formed at York see p. 145.
  56. On Alcuin during his time at York and at Charlemagne's court see pp. 144, 145 respectively.
  57. See Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 2.
  58. See N.K. Chadwick, 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales', *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N.K. Chadwick et al., Cambridge 1954, 34-36.
  59. The monastery was founded by St. David himself, the Bishop of Menevia, and although it was frequently attacked by hostile marauders David succeeded in building up an intellectual circle that was admired by King Alfred of Wessex, among others. The leader of this movement was most probably John Asser, whose help Alfred enlisted for the purpose: see n. 61 below.
  60. See S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, (eds.), *Alfred the Great*, Harmondsworth 1983, 53-54.
  61. See K. Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and related texts', in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1980, 67-85.
  62. See A.W. Wade-Evans (ed.), *Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David*, 1923.
  63. See J.D.A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to Anglo-Latin Writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin (670-804)*, The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.
  64. See M.L.W. Laistner, 'Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 16 (1933) 69-94.
  65. See D. Ganz, 'Anglo-Saxon England', in *LBI*, 101-102.
  66. See J.E. Cross, 'On the Library of the Old English Martyrologist', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, Cambridge 1985, 227-249.
  67. This is a subject that has exercised the minds of historians, literary scholars, palaeographers and bookmen and continues to do so. Some argue that Roman intellectuals took refuge in Ireland to escape the threat of barbarian marauders, others contend that it was the scholarly exchanges between Britain and the Continent that sparked off the study of literature in the Celtic kingdoms, and many other theories have been put forward. See N.K. Chadwick, *Intellectual Contacts between Britain and Gaul in the Vth Century*, *Studies in Early British History*, Cambridge 1954, 189 ff.; L.D. Reynolds and



- N.G. Wilson, *Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ Φιλόλογοι. Τὸ ἱστορικὸ τῆς παράδοσης τῶν κλασικῶν κειμένων* (= *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, tr. N.M. Panayotakis), Athens, MIET, 1981, 108-114.
68. On monastic libraries in Ireland from 600 to 1500, see L. Gougaud, 'The Remains of Ancient Irish Monastic Libraries', in J. Ryan (ed.), *Féil-Sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill: Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill*, Dublin 1940, 319-340.
69. On Bangor see p. 114.
70. The monasteries of Derry and Iona were both founded by Columbanus. Apart from the fact that the monks read and studied the scriptures, no details are known of the type of education he laid down for them. His biographer, Adomnán, mentions only that he spent many hours reading and writing: see Adomnán, *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, I.1.23, II.8.14, ed. J.F. Fowler, Oxford 1894, 13, 16. If the hymn *Altus prosator* really is by Columbanus, it shows that he was very familiar with Latin literature.
71. On Iona Abbey see p. 109.
72. Columbanus was a monk at Bangor until 590 and wrote commentaries on the Psalms and a hymn, *Precamur patrem*. The hymn gives us an idea of the books he had available to him, such as John Cassian's *Institutiones*, Jerome's *Letters* and the of *Sermons* of Caesarius of Arles. See C. Stancliffe, 'Venantius Fortunatus, Ireland, Jerome: The evidence of *Precamur Patrem*', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 81-97.
73. On Luxeuil Abbey and its collection of manuscripts to the end of the Carolingian period see p. 158.
74. For the history of the founding and functioning of the Corbie Abbey library and its eventual fate, see p. 187.
75. On Bobbio Abbey see p. 158.
76. On St. Gallen Abbey and the achievements of its monks see pp. 167-187.
77. Virgil of Salzburg wielded great influence at the Frankish court: he was the man chosen by Pippin to lead a diplomatic mission to discuss affairs of state with Odilo of Bavaria. He stayed on in Bavaria and rose to be Bishop of Salzburg, a position he held until his death in 784. He had the audacity to write a cosmography, largely fanciful and in parts satirical, in which he refers to Pomponius Mela even though he did not have access to the one and only copy of Mela's work, which was in the Ravenna library. See H. Löwe, *Ein literarischer Widersacher des Bonifatius: Virgil von Salzburg und die Kosmographie des Aethicus Ister*, Wiesbaden 1951.
- His own books – including a manuscript of Maximus Victorinus, *De ratione metrorum* – he bequeathed to the excellent library of Salzburg Cathedral, thus imparting a taste of Ireland to that episcopal collection: see B. Bischoff, *SS*, II, 54-61.
- Virgil's interest in preparing a representative list of patristic and exegetical writings for school use in the Carolingian period is apparent from the similar list which the Irish teacher Dungal drew up when he was appointed principal of the school at Pavia in 825: see Mirella Ferrari, 'In Papia convenient ad Dungalum', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 15 (1972) 1-52; and, more generally, Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. M. Gorman, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 110.
- On the catalogue of the books that finally came to rest in the Bobbio Abbey library, which was copied before the original was lost, see M. Esposito, 'The Ancient Catalogue of Bobbio', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 32 (1931) 337-344.



# CHAPTER III

## Roman and Early Medieval Britain

78. This Irish scholar played an important part in the Italian school during the Carolingian period. He is often confused with his namesake Dungal of St. Denis: see L. Traube, 'O Roma nobilis', *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, I, 19/2, Munich 1891, 36-41; J.F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, New York 1929, 538-542; Ferrari, 'In Papia...', 1-52.
79. See S. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus*, Munich 1906. Sedulius is associated with a manuscript of the *Historia Augusta* copied at Murbach Abbey, which he may have had in his possession while he was preparing his *Collectaneum*; see B.B. Boyer, 'Insular Contribution to Medieval Literary Tradition on the Continent', *Classical Philology* 43 (1948) 39 ff.
80. See D. Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena* (Great Medieval Thinkers series), Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.
81. The Anglo-Saxons and the Irish were constantly travelling to and fro between Wales and Italy on pilgrimages to Rome, which were considered almost *de rigueur*. Benedict Biscop made several journeys to the Holy See, the last being in 684 (see p. 116); Wilfrid was there again in 704; and we find Willibrord in Rome in 692 and 695.
82. Willibrord spent a good deal of time at a monastery in Frisia (Friesland), and to help him in his work he requested assistance from Hewald the Black, whom Bede praises for his learning: see *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 10.
83. On Boniface see p. 116.
84. On the Anglo-Saxons' missionary travels see W.J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*, Fribourg 1937; W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, Oxford 1946, 37-38.
85. Mainz developed into an important centre for literary studies and manuscript copying in Lullus's time: see W.M. Lindsay and P. Lehmann, 'The (Early) Mayence Scriptorium', *PL*, 4 (1925) 15 ff. On Lullus see p. 160 herein.
86. See p. 160.
87. See p. 156.
88. See p. 160.



IV

THE AGE  
OF  
CHARLEMAGNE







## THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE

### *Reforms in Education, New Book Centres, Libraries in Monasteries*

**H**istorical background. From the time of Pippin of Heristale the Franks extended the area under their domination into Frisia (Friesland), while missionaries from the British Isles continued their work of converting that region to Christianity. The Pope supported those Frankish plans and appointed Willibrord of Northumbria to be Bishop of Frisia, and so the links between the Frankish monarchy and the papacy grew still stronger. After Pippin's death in 714 Charles Martel extended his dominions to the east of the Rhine, at the same time cultivating his relations with the Roman missionaries and the Holy See itself. The culmination of this process was when Pope Gregory II bestowed the name Boniface on the monk Winfrith and entrusted him with the difficult task of converting the Germans living east of the Rhine. Making his headquarters at the court of Charles Martel and his operational base at Mainz, Boniface founded bishoprics and monasteries, the most famous being Fulda Abbey.

In 741 Charles Martel died and his sons Pippin the Short and Carloman shared power. In 747 Carloman withdrew to a monastery and Boniface is said to have crowned Pippin king unconstitutionally in 751. This act was sanctioned by the Pope, in return for which Pippin promised to cede to the papacy certain territories which he hoped to wrest from the Lombards, while at the same time he was compelled to spend most of his reign in Italy. The grant of those provinces to the Holy See was documented by a written promise known as the Donation of Pippin, which has not survived, though its text has come down to us in the *Life* of Pope Stephen II (752-757). The Donation was ratified by Charlemagne in 774. This document inspired a famous forgery which was conclusively proved to be apocryphal by Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century: that was the so-called Donation of Constantine, actually drafted by the Curia some time before 800, whereby Constantine

*Prelude to the age  
of Charlemagne*

1. The front cover of the Lorsch Gospels, an exquisite example of ivory carving executed c. 810. The five ivory panels depict the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus, flanked by the prophet Zacharias and John the Baptist. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

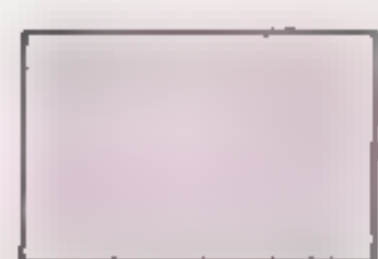








MAP  
SHOWING THE EXTENT  
OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE



*Frankish  
kingdom, 768-814*



*Marches*



the Great, on leaving Rome for Constantinople, was said to have ceded the city of Rome (including the Lateran Palace) and the whole of the Western Empire to Pope Sylvester I, judging that there was no secular leader capable of ruling over the Holy See. This meant that all power, secular as well as religious, was to lie in the hands of the incumbent Pope, passing from one to the next by right of succession.

In 768 Pippin's kingdom was divided between his sons Carloman and Charles, and only the death of the former averted outright civil war. On ascending the throne as sole ruler of the Franks, Charles (known as Charles the Great or more usually as Charlemagne) established standards of public administration and cultural behaviour that left a lasting imprint, remaining dominant in continental Europe – and to some extent in the British Isles – for hundreds of years.

Charlemagne continued his father's acquisitive campaigns both in Italy and in northern Spain and consolidated his power in the region between the Rhine and the Elbe. He also annexed the Duchy of Bavaria and finally overthrew the Avar kingdom in south-eastern Europe, a victory which brought a fabulous fortune into his coffers. The problems created by the idolatrous Saxons in northern Germany, against whom he waged long drawn-out campaigns, were resolved by the Saxon capitulary which he issued in 797.

From the beginning of the 790s discussions had been under way at Charlemagne's court over the idea of proclaiming an empire, as no previous ruler had ever reigned over so large a region in Western Europe. Events developed rapidly: in 798 the Roman nobility arrested Pope Leo III (795-816) and convicted him of heresy. Leo sought the help of the king of the Lombards, in other words Charlemagne, who immediately marched to Rome, convened a Council and summarily ordered the nobles to withdraw their charges. By the end of 800 Charlemagne was effectively the absolute master of the West, and on Christmas Day of that year, as he was rising from his knees after praying, Pope Leo III crowned him Emperor and Augustus, to the cheers of the clergy. Not content with this induction by acclamation, Charlemagne crowned himself Emperor at Aachen in 802, receiving the crown from the hands of a monk standing by his side.

**The so-called Carolingian Renaissance and its underpinning of books.** What is known as the Carolingian Renaissance has given rise to endless debate and been studied from different angles, and there are those who maintain that there



2. Map showing the extent of Charlemagne's empire.



was a second such renaissance, judging by the patronage given to men of letters such as Hrabanus Maurus. According to Pierre Riché, however, the so-called Carolingian Renaissance amounted to no more than a series of advances in education and the attitude to ancient literature starting in about 680 at various monasteries such as Corbie, St. Martin of Tours, St. Gallen, Fulda, Reichenau, Bobbio, York, Pavia and Rome. These trends appeared at different times in different monasteries and reached their climax in Charlemagne's reign (768-814), as the king succeeded in creating an empire stretching from Rome to the far shores of France and from the River Elbe to Spain, which he wished to be underpinned by a shared culture.<sup>1</sup>

The original motive force for this regenerative trend came from the enthusiastic exploration of Latin literature by a small group of intellectuals, at first limited to Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville. The movement gained momentum once Charlemagne had drawn up a new educational blueprint for his empire with the promulgation of the *Admonitio generalis*, which laid down the conditions for the establishment of schools in all dioceses and monasteries.<sup>2</sup> But although Charlemagne gave his wholehearted backing to this intellectual 'reformation', it was not long before the project was in the throes of a crisis: on Charlemagne's death in 814 his successor, Louis the Pious, gave in to the demands of Benedict of Aniane, who insisted that the monasteries' 'external' schools ought to close down to protect the monks from corruption by the outside world, for he wished to maintain the clergy's monopoly of regulating education.<sup>3</sup>

Emperor Charlemagne himself showed a great love of books and a liking for men of letters generally, for he regarded them as the natural agents for the prop-



3. Hrabanus Maurus and Alcuin in an illumination from the codex *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, written probably at Fulda c. 840, at a time when Maurus was Abbot of Fulda. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Reg. lat. 124, fo. 2v).



agation of the cultural heritage in the West. The result of this conviction of his was the emergence of a class of scholars with sizable private libraries; these influenced many of the courtiers and dignitaries, who in turn came to share their emperor's passion for books. The difference was that these new 'bibliophiles' were interested not so much in acquiring knowledge as in displaying their wealth and being the owners of valuable objects of virtu, though of course this does not lessen the importance of the illuminated calligraphic manuscripts that were written for them.<sup>4</sup> It was at this time that Carolingian minuscule, similar to the Byzantine script, came into general use. The change of script did not affect the intellectuals, but it did in many ways make reading easier for the uneducated general public.<sup>5</sup>

Although scholars are by no means unanimous in their views on the nature of this intellectual trend, nor on the orientation and general acceptance of the revival of classical literature under Charlemagne or its after-effects, it is a fact that great strides were made at that time towards the reconciliation of classical literature with Christian writing. Notable examples of Latin prose and poetry were rescued and recopied and subsequently rendered good service as dependable reference works for medieval scholars, forming a corpus for the dissemination of classical authors in the late Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup>

**Alcuin: Educational reform and the revival of the idea of libraries for laymen.** Every resurgence of the book-reading habit leads to the formation of substantial collections of books and the wider dissemination of books generally; and this, of course, has been true since many centuries before the Christian era. Charlemagne, with his usual perspicacity, turned to what was then the greatest centre of learning, York, to raise his subjects' level of cultural attainment; and so it was that in 782 he invited an inspirational scholar, Alcuin, to his court. Alcuin was a teacher with the necessary breadth of learning to bring to fruition his visions for the future of education and the diffusion of knowledge in his immediate circle and in his empire as a whole, and to raise general awareness of the fact that books are essential aids for the realization of this idea.

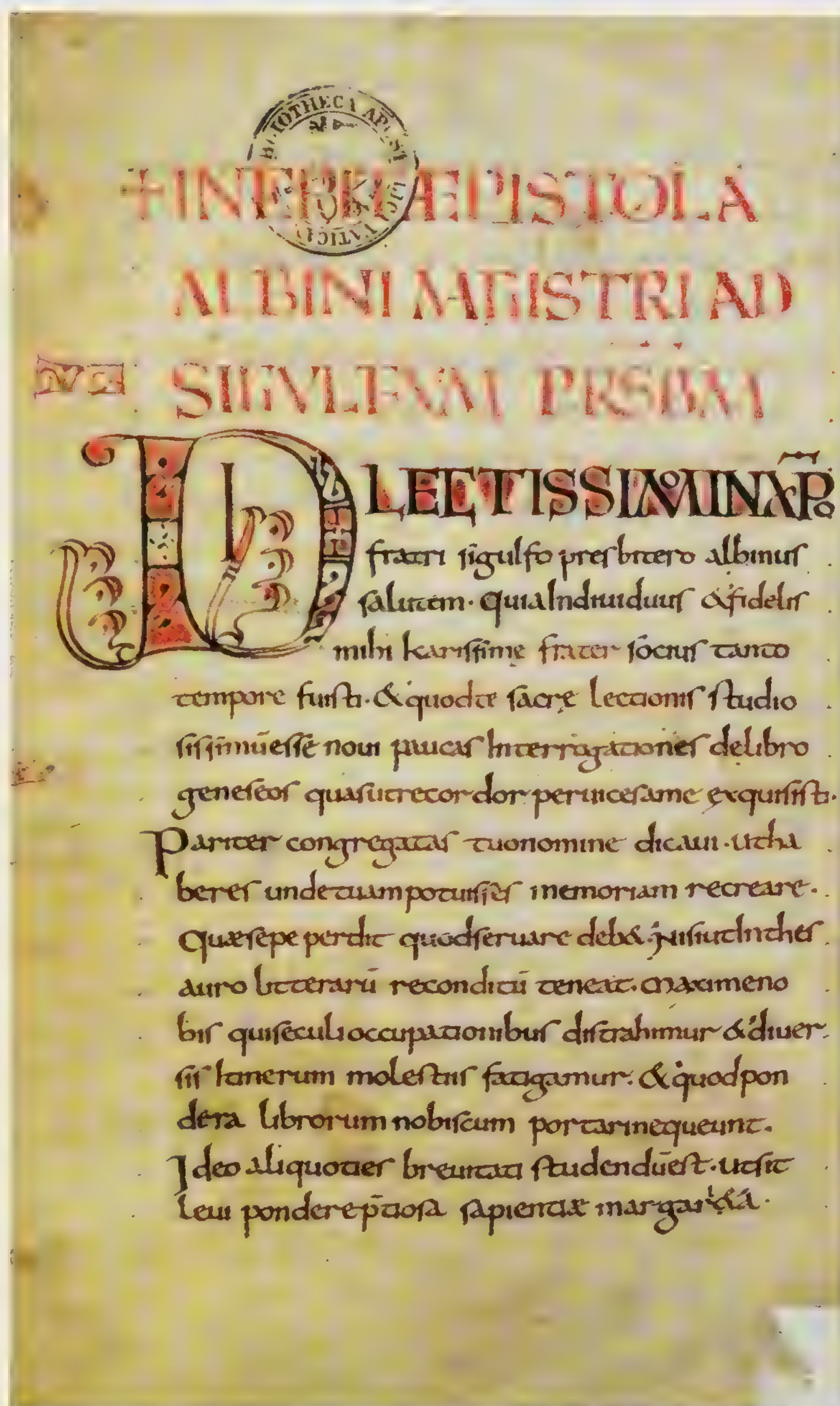
Alcuin, born at York in 735, liked to be known by the Latin name Albinus; and later, when he was at Charlemagne's court, he took the by-name Flaccus (after the Roman poet Q. Horatius Flaccus, or Horace).<sup>7</sup> He studied with the famous teacher Aelbert, and when the latter was consecrated Archbishop of York in 766 he succeeded him as principal of the cathedral school.<sup>8</sup> In a poem dedicated to the Bishops of York he comments on the nature of the education offered by that school and mentions the writers who were taught there. Working on the evidence of this



poem, Maurice Roger reconstructed the curriculum of the York school; however, since it was drawn up by Alcuin before 781 or 782, it was probably intended as an educational organogram for Charlemagne's school reforms.<sup>9</sup>

Alcuin left York to go on a pilgrimage to Rome in company with his teacher Aelbert, with the additional intention of looking for manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> On these travels he had an opportunity to expand his intellectual horizons, to familiarize himself with the achievements of continental Europe at first hand and presumably to make the acquaintance of literary works hitherto unknown to him. He repeated the journey in 780, and it was then that he first met Charlemagne at Parma. The latter persuaded him to take up permanent residence at the imperial court and gave him possession of the great abbeys of Ferrières and of Saint-Loup at Troyes.<sup>11</sup>

Charlemagne counted on Alcuin to accomplish the great work that was his dream, which was nothing less than to raise the standard of learning among the Franks. This intellectual movement was founded on the reorganization of the schools and the imposition of the Roman educational system based on the seven liberal arts and the propagation of Latin literature. Alcuin assumed his duties in the school year 780-781: his first pupils included Charlemagne himself, members of his family and court, and clergymen.<sup>12</sup> He also taught in the so-called academy that came into being in the court, exactly as mentioned in the *Dialogue*. Not only



4. Alcuin, *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, a codex dated c. 820 which was copied at Mainz. The codex opens with a letter from Alcuin to the priest Sigulfus. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. pal. lat. 289, fo. 2v).



did Alcuin succeed in imparting his learning to the imperial court, but in his writings he bequeathed valuable educational aids to the Frankish kingdom and other peoples, one of them being his revision of the Bible, which was accepted as the most authoritative version throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup>

Towards the end of the sixth century Pope Gregory the Great had forbidden the study and teaching of the liberal arts in cathedral schools, though the ban was not observed to the letter in all ecclesiastical centres of learning.<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding the ban, Alcuin reintroduced the liberal arts and in fact gave them pride of place in the curriculum of the palace school, and thereafter they were taught in all the 'external' and 'internal' schools in the Empire. It is certainly no coincidence that the cultivation of grammar and rhetoric manifested itself in the flowering of Neoclassical epistolography, with men of letters writing treatises in the style of letters for the general reader. Over a hundred letters have survived from Lupus of Ferrières († 862), the most eminent figure in classical literature in Charles the Bald's reign.<sup>15</sup>

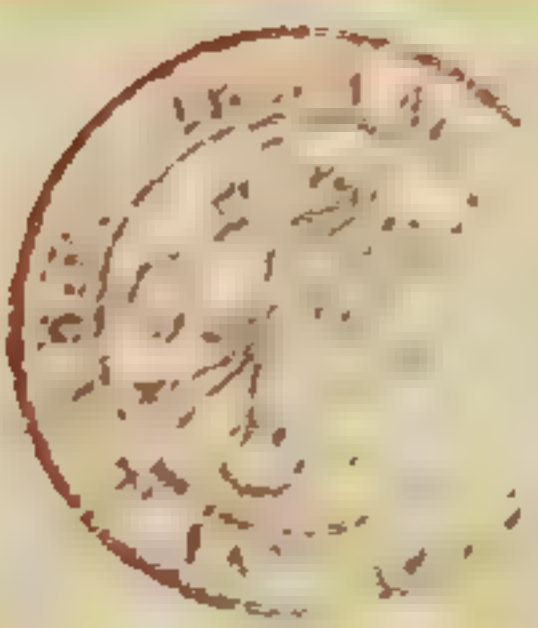
Having laid the foundations of these educational reforms, shaped the intellectual scene in accordance with Charlemagne's wishes and built up a considerable library in the palace, Alcuin returned to his native country in 781. However, he had not been there long before the Emperor recalled him to his court to deal with the Adoptionist heresy, which had spread like wildfire throughout Spain. Alcuin had Félix of Urgel condemned as a heretic, and in return Charlemagne gave him the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours.<sup>16</sup> There he spent the last years of his life, helping to turn the abbey school into a model scriptorium where skilled calligraphers produced manuscripts of rare beauty for him.

The influence exerted on Charlemagne's court by Alcuin's pioneering work is apparent from the whole system of organization applied thereafter to monastic libraries and scriptoria.

**Charlemagne's palace library.** Charlemagne's strong desire to be seen as the custodian of the West's cultural heritage – he was often referred to as 'David' or 'Homer' – led to the formation of a substantial library at his court and a large number of new libraries in his empire, and also to a reappraisal of the older collections in the monasteries. Accordingly, towards the end of the eighth century we find an unusual burst of activity in the better-known monastic scriptoria, which received a flurry of orders for copies of manuscripts.

5. *The Lorsch Gospels, written and illuminated at Charlemagne's imperial school in Aachen, circa 810. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. pal. lat. 50, fo. 67v).*







The process of building up Charlemagne's court library began round about 780 on the initiative of the Emperor himself; and, although that collection was dispersed after his death, the books that remained and a catalogue which probably refers to that collection attest to the breadth of learning manifested by his approach to collecting.<sup>17</sup> Einhard, who was a teacher at the imperial court, wrote a biography of Charlemagne (*Vita Karoli*) that included a transcript of his will. In that document the Emperor stipulated what he wanted to be done with his library: 'The books which he has collected in his library in great numbers shall be sold for fair prices to such as want them, and the money received therefrom given to the poor.'<sup>18</sup>

It is not certain whether Charlemagne's last wishes were carried out to the letter or not; in fact there is evidence to suggest that they were not, because a number of manuscripts that had certainly belonged to the library were still in the court in the reign of Louis the Pious.<sup>19</sup> The *Libri Carolini* were still available after Charlemagne's death, as attested by Hincmar,<sup>20</sup> and so was the *Mensuratio orbis*, which Godescalc consulted in the palace library. The same work was copied by Dicuil in 825, a year after the Emperor's death.<sup>21</sup> As to the important manuscripts of interest to bibliophiles that have survived to the present, such as the Codex Argenteus (now at Uppsala) and the Codex Augusteus of Virgil, which belonged to Charlemagne's library and were bought by contemporary collectors, it is not known for certain whether they were chosen for their sumptuousness or their symbolism.<sup>22</sup> There is strong evidence to suggest that some books from Charlemagne's collection were acquired by Corbie Abbey, where Charlemagne's cousin Adelard was abbot:<sup>23</sup> listed in the 'catalogue' of the palace library are various works of Latin literature by Terence, Sallust, Martial and other writers which were subsequently found in the Corbie library.<sup>24</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, the palace library played an important part in the formation of monastic libraries during Charlemagne's reign, standing as a point of reference for the copying of rare works of Latin literature and this perpetuating the Roman cultural heritage.

The imperial library was finally installed at Aachen, where the scribes and miniaturists at work included persons with highly-developed artistic sensibilities, such as the calligrapher Godescalc.<sup>25</sup> In addition, the 'court school' influenced another group of miniaturists and scribes including a number of foreigners, among them Demetrius Presbyter, who signed his manuscripts in gold ink.<sup>26</sup>

6. The Godescalc Gospels, commissioned by Charlemagne for his queen in 781. Here St. Matthew is seen writing his Gospel. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms nouv. acq. lat. 1203, fo. 1r).





St. Matthew  
1404

1404



On the evidence presently available it is not possible to reconstruct the contents of Charlemagne's library, and various attempts to locate major parts of the collection have proved fruitless. Nevertheless, there are certain clues making it possible at least to divine its character. Einhard, in his biography of Charlemagne, provides some basic information about specific works, and also about whole sections of the library. Thanks to him, we know that the collection included histories and books about the achievements of the ancients (*antiquorum res gestae*), many of which were read aloud to the Emperor himself.<sup>27</sup> We are also informed that on Charlemagne's orders the laws of various barbarian tribes (which until then had been handed down by oral tradition) and old German heroic lays were compiled and written down.<sup>28</sup> Charlemagne's correspondence with Alcuin in 798 and 799 contains references to Pliny's *Natural History*: Alcuin wished to obtain a copy and urged the Emperor to read it for himself.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere Alcuin tells Gundrada that he intends to look 'in the imperial library' for St. Augustine's letter to Jerome on the origin of the soul<sup>30</sup> and other writings by Augustine on the same subject.<sup>31</sup>

Charlemagne's library must have contained numerous books of poetry and prose, both old favourites and contemporary works written at court. Among those that have survived are some rare works including poems by Nemesianus<sup>32</sup> and Calpurnius Siculus, commentaries on the poems of Paul the Deacon and Modonius, the *Cynegeticon* of Grattius and the *Silvae* of Statius, which contained in a poem sent by Charlemagne (or on his behalf) to Peter of Pisa and Paul the Deacon.<sup>33</sup> The library definitely possessed a copy of the *Mensuratio orbis* and a collection of papal letters: this is confirmed by Godescalc, who borrowed them for a poem he was writing, as we have seen.<sup>34</sup> It is recorded that these court circles had access to collections of poems by Tibullus, which may sometimes have been read aloud.<sup>35</sup>

It was not only the Emperor and his immediate circle who were concerned with enlarging the library, for his known predilection for books encouraged many others to contribute to the imperial collection in one way or another. In 786 Paul the Deacon sent Charlemagne a copy of Festus's *Epitome* and a letter that opened with the words *Cupiens aliquid uestris bibliothecis addere* ('Wishing to add to your library ...').<sup>36</sup> One of the first accessions to the imperial collection was the *Canonum collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, which Pope Adrian I (772-795) presented to the Emperor in April 774, with dedicatory notes to accompany his gift. This codex, and a copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary, sent by the Pope himself in accordance with Charlemagne's wishes between 784 and 791, served the court copyists as prime



models of how to write ecclesiastical texts.<sup>37</sup> In the process of establishing friendly relations between the imperial court and the papal library, a Latin translation of the decrees of the second Council of Nicaea was sent from Rome in 787. Between 800 and 814 Pope Leo III donated a number of books, probably including the *Liber pontificalis*<sup>38</sup> and a volume containing commentaries on the Catholic Epistles by Clement of Alexandria and Didymus the Blind.<sup>39</sup> Charlemagne also requested – and received – from Abbot Theodemar († 797) of Monte Cassino a transcript of the original Rule of St. Benedict purportedly written in Benedict's own hand.<sup>40</sup>

Charlemagne's interests were not limited to literature and ecclesiastical writings: he strove to acquire a copy of every book that might be help towards the reliable reproduction of the ancient classics. Abbot Adam of Masmünster gave the Emperor a manuscript of Diomedes's grammar which was the first manuscript copied in the Carolingian period.<sup>41</sup> A major source of new accessions for the library was Alcuin during his period of residence at Charlemagne's court, for we should not forget that before leaving England he had been in charge of the York Minster library. The books he donated covered a range of subjects: they included letters written by Alexander the Great and Seneca, St. Paul's *Epistles* and pseudo-Augustine's letters in his *Categories*. Alcuin also gave the Emperor an inventory of biblical names in Hebrew with their Latin translations and a copy of the Bible, and probably many of his own writings as well.<sup>42</sup>

Information has come down to us about manuscripts copied in the imperial court in accordance with Charlemagne's wishes, such as a didactic poem on medicine by Serenus Sammonicus<sup>43</sup> and a codex with a monumental title page containing commentaries on the Bible and grammar notes published by Charlemagne's teacher, Peter of Pisa.<sup>44</sup> A similar illuminated title page adorned a copy (now lost) of Wigbod's commentary on the Octateuch, which opened with a long



7. Eridanus. Illumination in a codex of Aratus, *Phenomena*, probably copied at Reims in the ninth century. London, British Library (Harley 647, fo. 10v).



dedicatory poem inspired by various sources.<sup>45</sup> Two lines of that poem are of especial significance with regard to the imperial library:

*Quis saltem poterit seriem enumerare librorum,  
quos tua de multis copulat sententia terris.*

Charlemagne's  
collecting policy

Quite possibly, as Bischoff suggests, these lines imply that the Emperor was trying to collect books 'from many lands' (*multis terris*), as attested by a lost letter that Charlemagne wrote in about 780, appealing for copies of rare books. The response to his appeal is evident from the gifts mentioned above.<sup>46</sup>

More books must have been acquired for the imperial library as spoils of war from Charlemagne's victorious campaigns in Lombardy and Italy. (However, the number of books carried off from libraries is a matter of pure conjecture, and a far worse act of vandalism was the demolition of monuments in Ravenna so that the gateways could be used in the construction of Aachen cathedral.) Quite possibly some of the manuscripts with illuminations in a 'Graeco-Roman' style were used by the members of the court scriptorium as models for their own aesthetic approach.

The library  
catalogue

One of the oldest book catalogues to have come down to us from the Middle Ages is probably directly connected with the books in Charlemagne's court library: it is an index of Latin writers to be found in MS Berlin Diez. B 66.<sup>47</sup> This catalogue, compiled at Corbie in the eighth century, appears to contain two entries for each name: a first one evidently dating to Charlemagne's time and a later one that must be Italian on the evidence of the script. The cataloguing of so classical a collection of books was unprecedented at that time in the Frankish Empire: it implies the existence of a circle of scholars extremely interested in the Roman literary tradition, among other subjects. The catalogue lists works by Lucan (*Bellum civile* (*Pharsalia*), Statius (*Thebais*), Terence (many plays, including *Eunuchus*), Juvenal (*Satires*), Horace (*Ars poetica*), Claudian (*De bello Gothico*, *De bello Gildonico*), Martial (*Epigrams*), speeches by Cicero, of course (*In Verrem*, *In Catilinam*), and speeches by Cato addressed to the Senate and the law courts (*Sententia... in senatu*).<sup>48</sup>

It is quite impossible for us to know the actual extent and nature of this 'back to books' movement, owing to the paucity of the evidence. Certainly it was not a literary reappraisal of ancient literature, but rather a matter of re-examining that literature and finding the proper place for it in the library classification system: a matter of re-establishing a connection with the past through the written word, especially poetry and historical works. At all events, that movement served as a



model for the direction to be taken both by the school curriculum and by monastic scriptoria in the ensuing years.

**The library of Louis the Pious.** The contents of the imperial court library under Charlemagne’s successors cannot be reconstructed on the evidence presently available: only conjectures can be made on the basis of oblique allusions, suggestive clues and often mere hypotheses. We have seen that a considerable number of books from Charlemagne’s collection may well have stayed in the bookcases of the imperial library rather than being disposed of in the way he had stipulated in his will.<sup>49</sup> But the process of enlarging the library must certainly have continued according to the pattern set by his scholarly circle: the classics, theological writings, rare works of ancient literature, illuminated books, examples of contemporary literature and a section comprising textbooks of jurisprudence and legal procedure. A set of law books worthy of the imperial court was written specially for the purpose, as attested by Hrabanus Maurus in 829 in a letter to Archchaplain Hilduin: ‘vos ... apud quem librorum maxima copia est’ (‘you ... who have a very great supply of books’).<sup>50</sup>

In accordance with contemporary practice, the library



8. Louis the Pious. Illumination in a codex of Hrabanus Maurus, *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, written at Fulda c. 840. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Reg. lat. 124, fo. 3v).



of Louis the Pious was enriched by gifts, including calligraphic manuscripts written specially for the Emperor: one such was a copy of St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* donated by Angilbert of St. Riquier.<sup>51</sup> Another item of major importance was the famous codex of writings by pseudo-Dionysius sent as a gift by Emperor Michael of Byzantium, from which the Latin translations were made.<sup>52</sup> Mention should also be made of a copy of a work by Theodulf (*De spiritu sancto*) inscribed with a dedication by the author himself, an illuminating example of the donation of contemporary literary works to the library.<sup>53</sup>

Writers who hoped to win recognition by the imperial court were in the habit of dedicating their works – collections of poetry and biblical commentaries – to the Emperor. Another person who exerted a strong cultural influence on the court was the Emperor's wife, Judith, who from 849 occupied a prominent position by the Emperor's side.<sup>54</sup> Hrabanus made a dedicatory copy of his commentaries on the books of Judith and Esther for the Empress: the high quality of this manuscript is not a matter of conjecture, as it can be admired today in the Geneva library.<sup>55</sup> As far as the organization of the imperial library is concerned, we know that after a certain time there existed a post of *palatius bibliothecarius*. One of the holders of this position, before 828, was Gerward of Lorsch, who was a courtier from 814.<sup>56</sup>

**Monastic libraries in the Carolingian period.** Ever since the time of Gregory the Great, Rome had been a seemingly inexhaustible source of manuscripts. It was to the Eternal City that all churchmen looked for the answers to their spiritual self-examination and for documentary backing for their liturgical duties. Moreover, as we have seen, Gregory the Great's policy was centred on Holy Writ and the other books that the monasteries and bishoprics under his jurisdiction needed to have for their work.<sup>57</sup>

Ever since the first decades of the seventh century there had been evidence of the international compass of the reproduction and distribution of books, covering countries from Rome to the British Isles. Would-be founders of monasteries, teachers and grammarians, missionaries and anybody interested in books, words and ideas headed for Rome to consult or buy books they knew only from references. Pope Martin I complained to St. Amand in a letter that his library was constantly being ransacked by manuscript collectors.<sup>58</sup>

The abbess of Nivelles and St. Amand built up their libraries with books acquired in Rome,<sup>59</sup> and it was there, too, that Marcus and his nephew Moengal, who became monks at St. Gallen, found and bought manuscripts.<sup>60</sup> Alcuin's



teacher, Aelbert,<sup>61</sup> discovered books previously unknown to him in Rome; and in 642 Taio of Saragossa sent an agent to Rome to look for a copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.<sup>62</sup> Wilfrid's travelling companion, Benedict Biscop, went to Rome six times and returned to England each time with his baggage full of books.<sup>63</sup> But the Vatican Library, then housed in the Lateran Palace, shrank steadily, partly through the prodigality of the popes: Paul I, for example, gave Pippin the Short a small library consisting of treatises on spelling, grammar and geometry and a work by Dionysius the Areopagite, all in Greek, probably without keeping any copies.<sup>64</sup> One way and another, it was not long before lost its position as the pre-eminent source of books, for the development of monastic scriptoria and the frequent communication between them meant that every monastery had its own large or small stock of books available for sale. For example, Abbot Boniface of Fulda wrote to Daniel of Winchester for the books of the six prophets<sup>65</sup> and to Cuthbert of Jarrow and Egbert of York asking for books by Bede.<sup>66</sup> Even so, when Boniface went to Rome himself, he managed to obtain for his library a sixth-century codex of the Gospels edited by Victor of Capua.<sup>67</sup> In Alamannia the monasteries founded by Pirmin were enriched with new books such as the famous *Codex Laudianus* (487/489), which had belonged to Jarrow in Bede's time.<sup>68</sup> One of Boniface's travelling companions, Grégoire de Trèves, followed in his footsteps and bought numerous manuscripts on the Roman market for his monastery at Utrecht;<sup>69</sup> and his pupil, Liudger, who had attended Alcuin's lectures at York for four years, also came back bringing manuscripts with him. In Charlemagne's reign the monastic libraries flourished as never before: in the first place, they were enriched with new accessions gathered from all parts of the Empire, and secondly the number of such libraries grew steadily with the founding of new monasteries and bishoprics. There is no point in listing here all the libraries that existed in the period under consideration – after all, that is not the purpose of the present volume; but it is worth mentioning the biggest of them and the persons who did the most to enlarge them.

Charlemagne, who was well aware of the important part played by monasteries in promoting the study of the literary tradition, keeping that tradition alive and consolidating the liturgical rites of the Roman Church, chose to appoint men of letters as abbots and bishops. One such was Gerbold, a former chaplain of Queen Bertrade, whom he appointed Abbot of Fontenelle.<sup>70</sup>

In 790 Charlemagne gave Saint-Riquier Abbey to his son-in-law Angilbert, a layman, who donated his own collection of no less than two hundred books to the abbey's library.<sup>71</sup> These were exquisite codices in ornate bindings: they included a



Gospel book written in gold ink now in the Abbeville municipal library as well as liturgical books needed for the three hundred monks who sang the Lord's praises night and day. None of the codices copied at the Saint-Riquier scriptorium in Charlemagne's reign have survived, with one possible exception (of disputed provenance): a copy of St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, mentioned in an earlier chapter.<sup>72</sup> The only document definitely dating from that period is the library catalogue dated 831, compiled by Hariulf.<sup>73</sup> Proof of the broad thematic coverage of the Saint-Riquier library is afforded by a prosodic florilegium compiled by Mico, a teacher at the abbey school, containing 400 examples of polysyllabic words taken mostly from the poetical works of Lucretius, Ovid, Statius, Lucan and Serenus Sammonicus.<sup>74</sup>

**Saint-Martin.** When Alcuin, after rendering manifold services to the imperial court, took over the reins as Abbot of St. Martin's in Tours in 796, he continued to support the monastic scriptorium and library with the same diligence as his predecessors. But although the St. Martin's library was well stocked, Alcuin wrote to old friends of his in York bemoaning the fact that he did not have access to as many manuscripts as he had had in his youth in the library of his birthplace, York.<sup>75</sup> The renowned scriptorium of St. Martin's did not limit itself to producing manuscripts for the needs of its own monks: it had developed into a copying workshop willing to undertake commercial transactions with the public.<sup>76</sup> What is more, it was the first monastic scriptorium to make copies of classical literature. It was in close contact with many other monasteries (such as Ferrières) in matters to do with books, lending manuscripts out and borrowing others to copy; and it supplied books for the library of Cluny Abbey.<sup>77</sup> The earliest manuscripts of Latin literature were most probably copied at the St. Martin's scriptorium in Alcuin's time: among them were Tiberius Claudius Donatus's commentary on Virgil, an edition of Nonius and the third 'decad' of Livy's *History*, the famous Codex Puteanus. The abbey's close links with the imperial court were maintained after Alcuin's death, and the latter's policy was continued by his successor Fridugis (804-834). Twenty manuscripts of works by Latin authors have been identified from this period, including the oldest copy of Suetonius.<sup>78</sup>

9. This illumination in a copy of the Bible known as the Vivian Bible is the dedicatory painting in the First Bible dedicated to Charles the Bald. It shows Vivian, Abbot of Tours (845-851), presenting the Bible to the emperor, surrounded by monks. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms lat. I, fo. 423r).

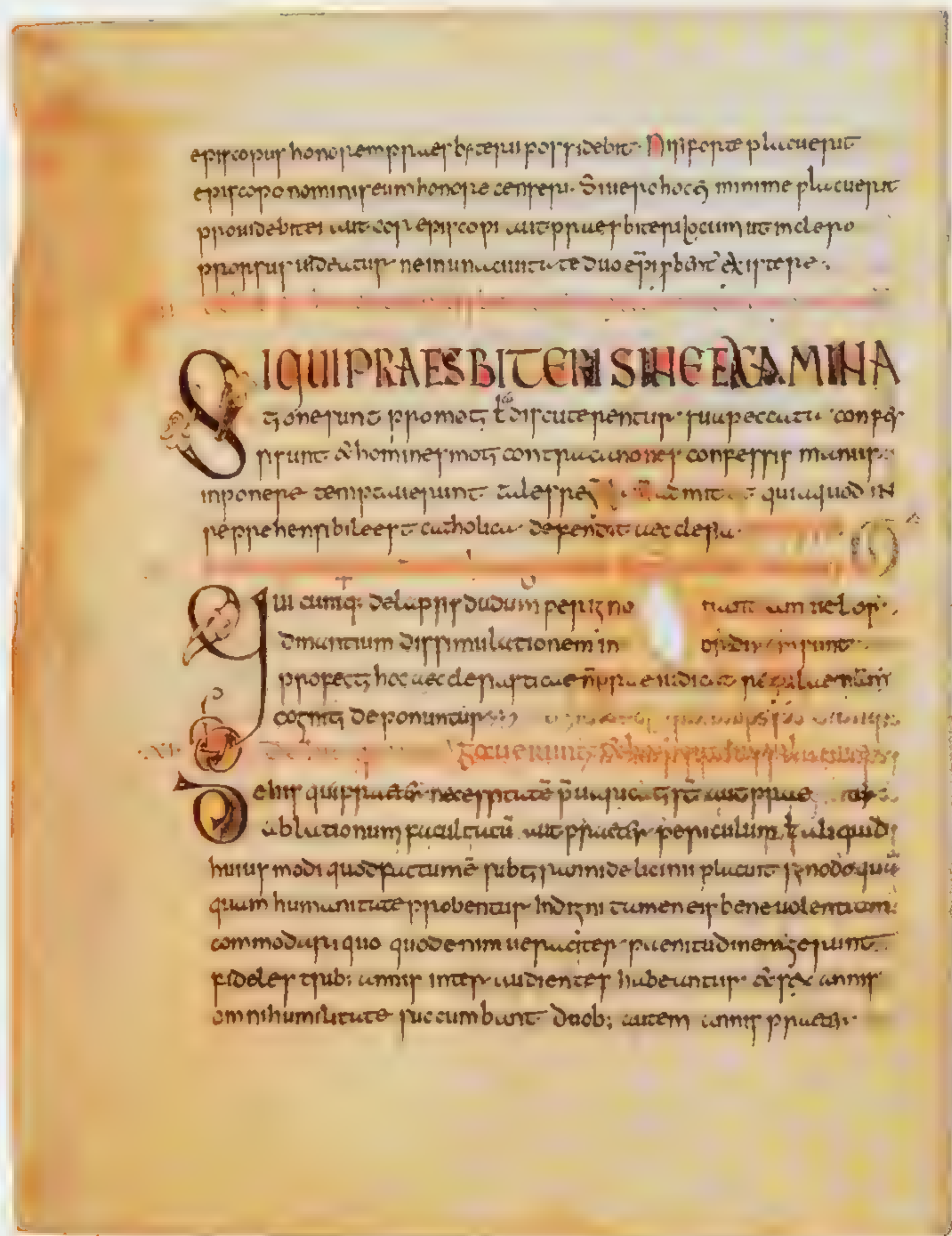






**Fulda.** Fulda Abbey was lucky enough to have as its abbot from 822 one of the most learned men of his day: Hrabanus Maurus, a pupil of Alcuin, who had instilled in him a deep interest in Latin literature.<sup>79</sup> The first inventory of its library, dated *circa* 800, is partly legible.<sup>80</sup> Besides various biblical manuscripts, it is possible to read approximately thirty-two titles: patristic and hagiological works, Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* and a *Liber Alexantri*.<sup>81</sup> Classical authors do not ap-

pear to have exerted any noticeable influence on the Fulda school or library; and Maurus, himself a poet, was not obviously influenced by Lucretius, Ovid or Horace, but rather by a somewhat pedestrian poet, Optatianus Porphyrius.<sup>82</sup> The discovery of a copy of Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*, written in 836,<sup>83</sup> has made possible the identification of other manuscripts copied at Fulda in the fourth decade of the ninth century, such as the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* of Curtius Rufus and works by Ammianus Marcellinus, Apicius and Columella.<sup>84</sup>



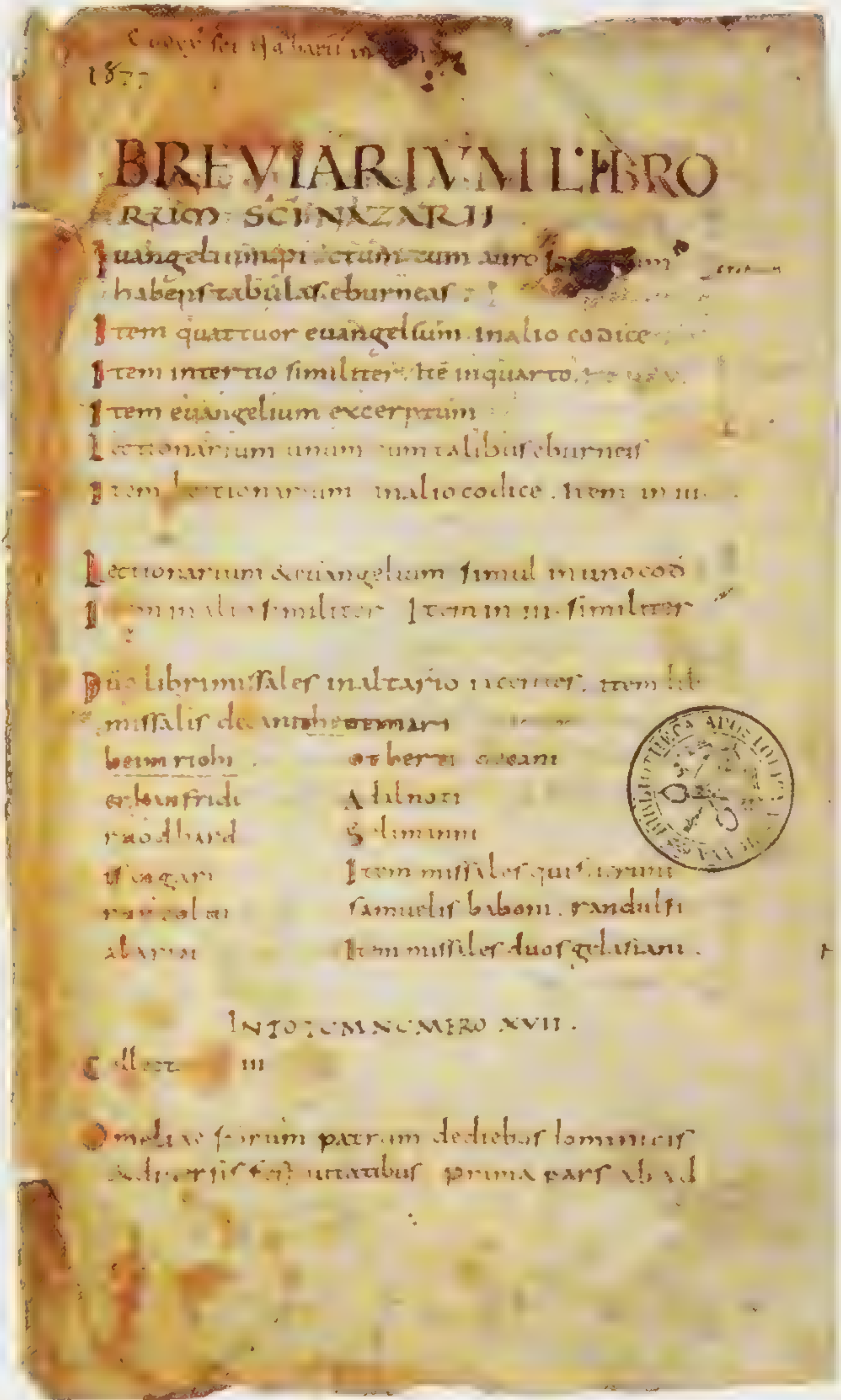
10. Dionysius Exiguus, Canonessammlung, a manuscript copied perhaps at Fulda circa 800. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. pal. lat. 577, fo. 26v).

of Irish Christianity, Columbanus, who also founded Bobbio Abbey.<sup>85</sup> As one might expect, the abbey, founded in the lifetime of Gregory the Great (540-604), strongly influenced other monastic communities in the seventh century. The oldest extant manuscript written in its scriptorium, the Morgan Augustine, is dated 669.<sup>86</sup> A striking feature of the collaboration between the monasteries founded by Columbanus, namely Luxeuil and Bobbio, is that many of the surviving manuscripts – such as those containing works by Pliny and Ovid and a Latin translation of Euclid – are palimpsests: they are parchments originally used in the fifth and sixth centuries for works of late Latin literature, including a codex of Probus.<sup>87</sup>



The reputation of Luxeuil Abbey in the monastic world was not limited to its high standing in spiritual matters: it also extended to the form of script used in its scriptorium. Copyists and apprentice scribes who had worked at Luxeuil for a time carried on in the same style when they moved elsewhere: one such was the anonymous calligrapher of the codex of Gregory of Tours written at Corbie early in the eighth century.<sup>88</sup>

**Reichenau.** The founder of Reichenau Abbey in 729 was Pirmin († 739), who was a leading figure in the intellectual life of the area round the Bodensee (Lake Constance), as we shall see when discussing St. Gallen Abbey. The nucleus of the library was its founder's own private collection, some items from which have survived to the present day.<sup>89</sup> A catalogue compiled in the early part of the ninth century and referring to the year 821 or 822 was the earliest extensive and detailed medieval library catalogue.<sup>90</sup> The original is now lost, but its contents have survived in a printed catalogue which shows that the library then contained four hundred manuscripts arranged alphabetically and by subject. Among the works listed, some of which were used in the curriculum of the Reichenau school, are twenty codices containing grammar textbooks and ten containing didactic verse, including poems by Juvenal and Sedulius, Probus's *Cento*, of course, and two books of Virgil. The grammar textbooks in the abbey library included Bede's works on the subject and also books by Alcuin testifying to the school discipline enforced in the abbey.<sup>91</sup>



11. The Carolingian Catalogue of the Lorsch and Fulda libraries, dating from the ninth century. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. pal. lat. 1877, fo. 1r).

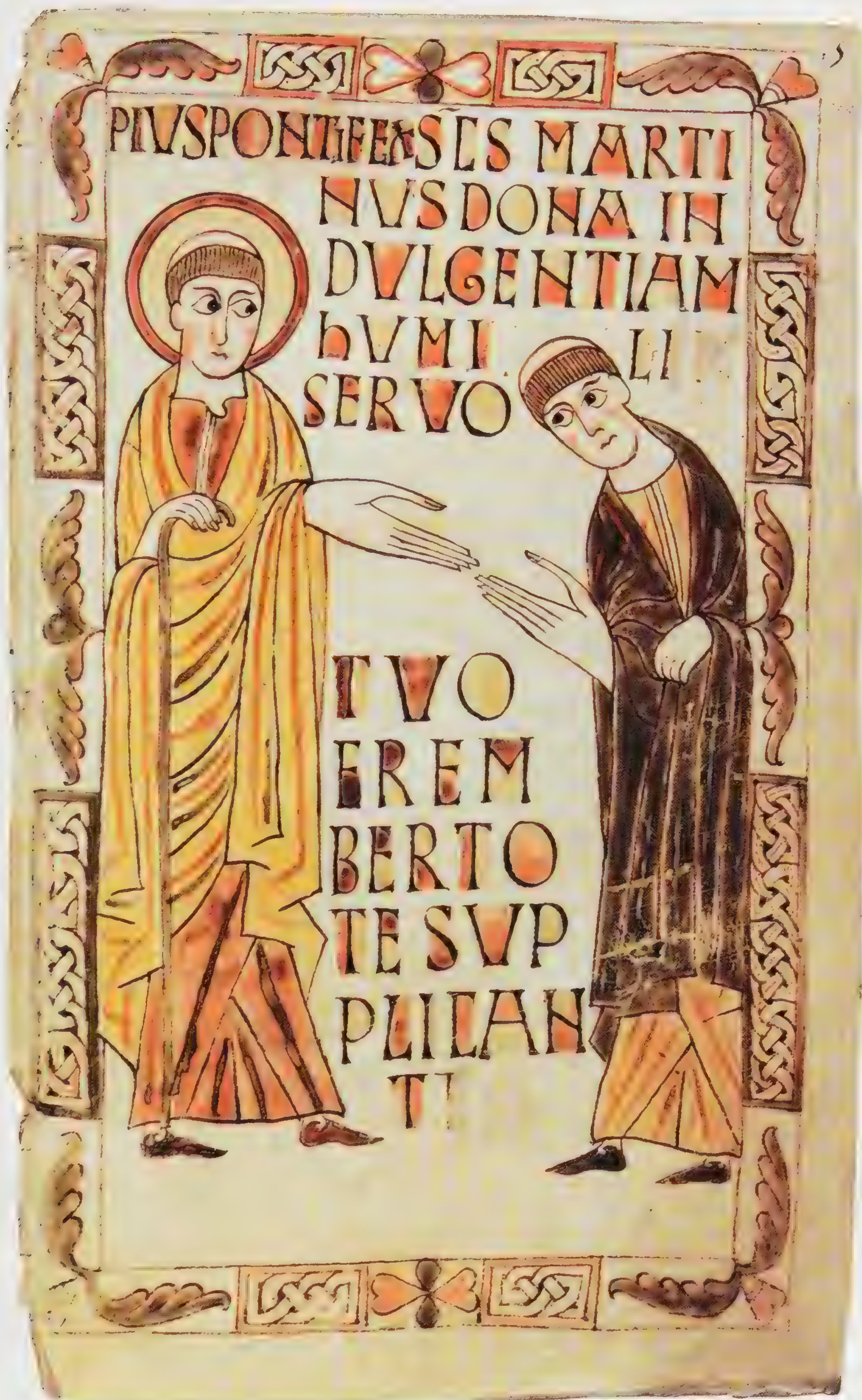


**Lorsch.** Lorsch Abbey, built on the banks of the Rhine in 764, was a community whose monks were by no means prejudiced against Latin literature.<sup>92</sup> Under Abbot Richbod, in about 800, its scriptorium was noted for its exceptionally high productivity rate, to judge by the twenty-five codices copied there in the last two decades of the eighth century and the early years of the ninth. These included textbooks by Julian of Toledo, Marius Victorinus, Aldhelm (*De metris*) and Bede (*De arte metrica*).<sup>93</sup> It is clear from a catalogue of its library dating from about 830 that most of the manuscripts copied in its scriptorium were written in a minuscule script; and the five Gospel books, probably written in about the third decade of the ninth century, afford excellent examples of the calligraphic style of the local script in the years following Charlemagne's death.<sup>94</sup> It should be added that a Lorsch monk named Gerward, who had been a courtier at the imperial court before 814, held the title of *palatii bibliothecarius* for some time before 828.<sup>95</sup>

**Murbach.** Murbach Abbey, like Reichenau, owed its existence to Pirmin, who founded it in 728. It is situated in a remote valley in the Vosges and came to be nicknamed the *vivarius peregrinorum* because it was a popular staging-post on the pilgrim route to Rome.<sup>96</sup> The abbey library contained a considerable number of books of Anglo-Saxon origin,<sup>97</sup> as we know from the comprehensive catalogue compiled in the mid ninth century:<sup>98</sup> Among its contents were the oldest known reference to the *Appendix Vergiliana*, rare works by Lucretius, the *Historia Augusta*, works by Sallust and Vitruvius and Seneca's *Letters*. It should also be mentioned that the library possessed the *History* of Velleius Paterculus with its unique account of the campaigns in Germany.

**Hersfeld.** Like Fulda, Hersfeld Abbey traces its origin to the Anglo-Saxons, for it was founded by Boniface's disciple Lullus. The ancient imperial Benedictine abbey of Hersfeld was founded by St. Benedict's disciple Sturm in 742. However, its position left it exposed to attack by the Saxons and so the community was moved to Fulda. Then in 768 the old monastery at Hersfeld was resuscitated, again under Lullus. After 780 the abbey became a place of pilgrimage, mainly on account of the relics of St. Wigbert, and it expanded until there were 150 monks in the community. The substantial library built up there over the years soon gave the abbey added interest and it developed into a seat of piety and learning.<sup>99</sup> The copyists working in its scriptorium and the members of its library maintained close contact with various other monasteries, some of them (like Monte Cassino) far away, and





12. Bishop Erembert presents St. Martin with the codex containing the Psalms and commentary on the Psalms. Manuscript illumination painted at Worms in the eighth century. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. pal. lat. 67, fo. 52).



it may be that the Monte Cassino codex of Frontinus and Tacitus's *Agricola* came from Hersfeld.<sup>100</sup>

**Würzburg.** One of the most renowned libraries of the Carolingian period was that of Würzburg Cathedral.<sup>101</sup> The earliest catalogue of the cathedral library is again dated to about 800, but it is not older than the Fulda catalogue.<sup>102</sup> Thirty-five titles are listed: four volumes contain books of the Bible, three are liturgical books, twenty-one contain patristic writings (including Jerome's *De viris illustribus*) one



13. St. Luke in a miniature from a Gospel book painted in the art school of Reims, circa 860, which influenced the calligraphic schools of the Carolingian period. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms 728, fo. 94v).

is a volume on canon law, one is Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and five are school books, including Boniface's grammar and the poem by Juvenius.<sup>103</sup> The majority of the books in the Würzburg Cathedral library were home-produced, that is to say they were manuscripts copied in its own scriptorium, though a good many came from various monasteries.<sup>104</sup>

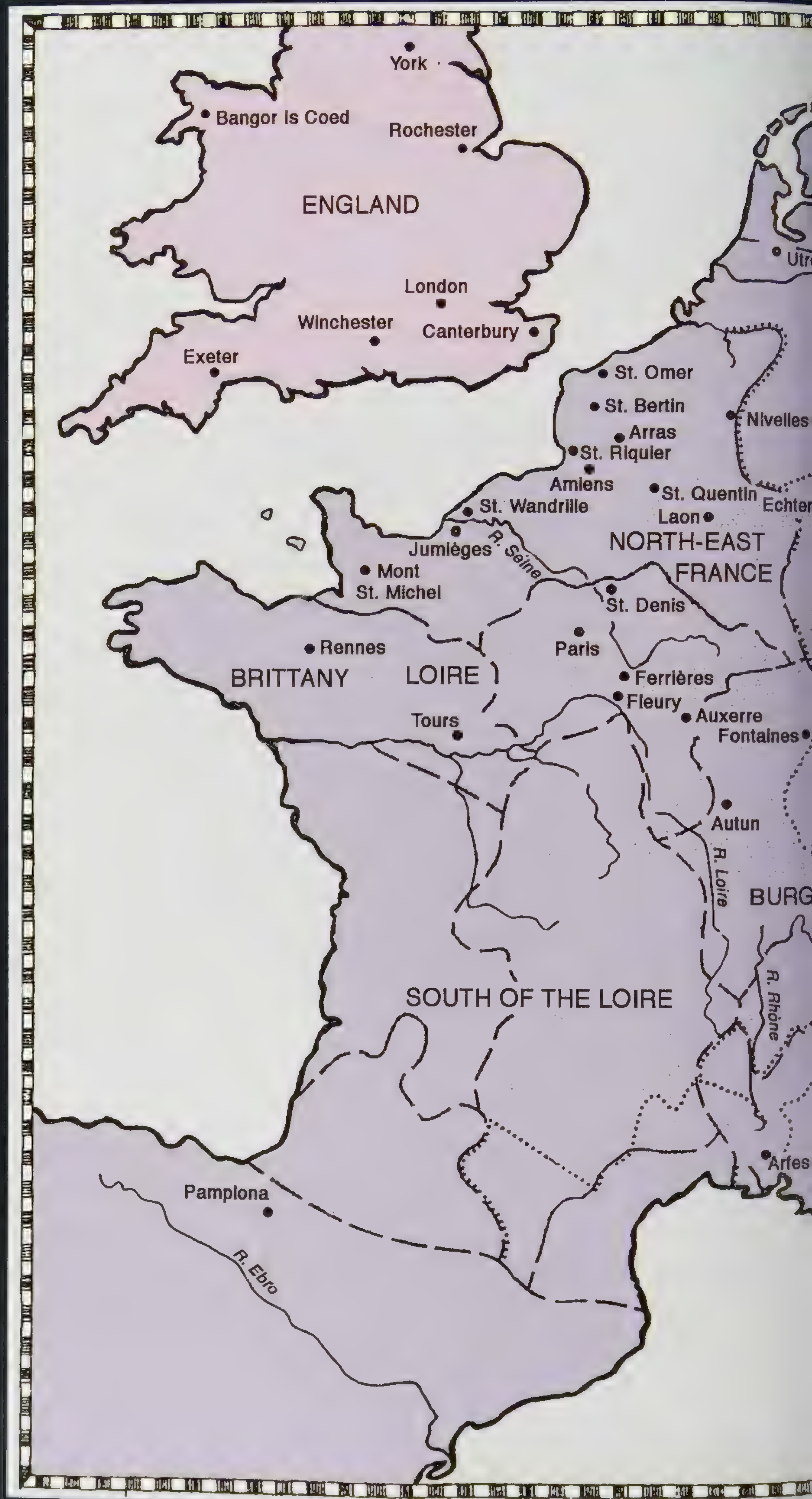


**Nonantola.** The abbey of Nonantola in northern Italy was founded by St. Anselm, Duke of Friuli,<sup>105</sup> and lies at the same latitude as Bobbio Abbey. Its foundation was part of the programme initiated by Liutprand, King of the Lombards, for the support of local monasticism.<sup>106</sup> Duke Abbo founded Novalesa (Novalaise) Abbey in 726,<sup>107</sup> Guidoald installed monks at Pistoia<sup>108</sup> and a certain Angelpert is recorded as the founder of Civate Abbey on the shores of Lake Como.<sup>109</sup> It is known that in 750 a monk who had spent some time at Monte Cassino left that abbey with a number of other monks to go and settle at Nonantola, and that event marks the chronicle of the library.<sup>110</sup> The only extant manuscript of works by Commodianus was copied at Nonantola,<sup>111</sup> as was one of the few surviving manuscripts containing medical treatises by Celsus. The script in use in the Nonantola scriptorium is known from twenty manuscripts copied there between 800 and 830.<sup>112</sup>

**Farfa.** The abbey of Farfa<sup>113</sup> is situated a short distance north of Rome on the way to Spoleto. The teaching of the Scriptures was initiated there by its first abbot, Thomas.<sup>114</sup> Before long the abbey school had developed into a centre of learning, to judge by the fact that Frodoin, a member of a noble Lombard family and future Abbot of Nonantola, studied *scientia litterarum* there.<sup>115</sup> But it was not until the 760s that its scriptorium started copying manuscripts systematically, as we know from a composite codex containing various sermons that was copied by a certain Alan and immediately became very popular.<sup>116</sup> Needless to say, there were many other monasteries in the Carolingian period that collected and copied manuscripts on a considerable scale, as inspirational abbots and librarians, often in close contact with members of the imperial court, did all they could to enlarge their monastic libraries. Specific mention should be made of the abbeys of Saint-Amand,<sup>117</sup> Autun,<sup>118</sup> Chur<sup>119</sup> and Fleury,<sup>120</sup> Lyon Cathedral,<sup>121</sup> and the abbeys of Freising,<sup>122</sup> Regensburg<sup>123</sup> and Salzburg<sup>124</sup> in south-eastern Germany.

14. *The most important libraries and scriptoria in monasteries, bishoprics and archbishoprics in the time of Charlemagne.*















**St. Gallen Abbey. The library and scriptorium.** The abbey of St. Gallen (St. Gall), with its scriptorium, is a typical product of the policy of proselytism carried on by the Western Church, the purpose of which was to 'save' the world from what was left of paganism. It is one of the oldest libraries in Europe with an unbroken history and, although the original eighth-century building no longer exists, the abbey as it is today is one of the most delightful and ornate examples of German baroque architecture.

The history of this abbey on the River Steinach in northern Switzerland goes back to the seventh century, when a group of Irish missionaries led by St. Columbanus made their way across the territories of various Germanic tribes until they reached the shores of the Bodensee (Lake Constance).<sup>125</sup> One of them, named Gall (Gallen, Gallus), took himself off into the wilderness of the Arbon Forest nearby, and there he lived as a hermit with two local anchorites. He built a log cabin which he used for prayer, and before long he had attracted a number of disciples. After his death in about 650 a church was built on the site, his bones were laid to rest in it, and pilgrims came to pray at his tomb. That church still stands as the nucleus of the Abbey of St. Gallen.<sup>126</sup>

In about 720 the group of hermits that had grown up around Gallus organized themselves into a monastic community under the wise leadership of one of their number named Otmar. Abbot Otmar's monastery followed a mixed rule at first, until in 747 Carloman instituted the Rule of St. Benedict. Though initially impoverished, the monastery grew steadily, so much so that it was coveted by certain powerful bishops, notably the Bishop of Constance, who tried to curb its growing independence. From that time on, that is from the middle of the eighth century, a start was made on the study of literature and a scriptorium was set up, where manuscripts were copied in the characteristic script of the region.<sup>127</sup> A monk



16. Otmar, founder of St. Gallen Abbey. Manuscript illumination from the Stuttgart Passionale, written circa 1150. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Bibl. fo. 58, fo. 118v).

15. The monumental doorway of the St. Gallen library with the inscription «Ψυχῆς Ἱατρεῖον» ('Sanatorium of the Soul'), by the sculptor Franz Anton Dizz (1781).





17. Notker Balbulus as scribe. Illumination in the Minden Tropary, dated ca. 1025. Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska (Theol. lat. quart. 11, fo. 144r).



named Johannes of Reichenau, who ‘succeeded’ Otmar as abbot, laid greater emphasis on the discipline of community life, with the result that in 770 there began a period of development in which the abbey acquired extensive new estates, thus greatly strengthening its independence and helping to establish its reputation. Waldo, a monk of noble birth, was made Abbot of St. Gallen in 782 and of Reichenau in 786.<sup>128</sup> This most cosmopolitan of the St. Gallen monks, who had previously been in Pavia and Basel, ended his career as Abbot of the imperial Abbey of St. Denis, near Paris (806-814). The abbey began to acquire political influence under Gozbert, who was abbot from 816 to 837. In 818 Emperor Louis the Pious granted tax exemption to the abbey and by 833 this privilege had been extended by Louis the German, who gave the monks the right to elect their abbots without interference. In 854 the abbey was granted full exemption from the tribute it had hitherto had to pay to the diocese of Constance. The ninth century – or, to be more precise, the 110 years from 816, when Gozbert became abbot, to the Hungarian invasion in 926 – may be described as the ‘Golden Age’ of the Abbey of St. Gallen.<sup>129</sup> Four of the abbots who guided its fortunes during this time – Gozbert, Grimald, Hartmut and Salomon – gave the abbey a foretaste of the Renaissance by their pursuit of literature and the arts.

Gozbert radically reorganized the abbey and acquired new estates, mainly in the German lands to the north, which dramatically increased its wealth and hence its independence. Major reforms were effected in the organization of the abbey with the introduction of the Rule of St. Benedict: a copy of the Rule which still exists in the abbey library dates from this period. Another historic document dating from Gozbert’s time is the set of architectural drawings (830) for the new abbey buildings, where space was earmarked specifically for the scriptorium and library (see p. 398, fig. 8).

Grimald, a nobleman from distant Rheno-Franconia, was abbot from 841 to 872. In addition to his duties at St. Gallen he was also the Abbot of Weissenburg and one other monastery. His *Vademecum*, a personal prayer book and guide to good conduct, is still to be seen in the library. He won numerous honours and eventually rose to be Chancellor under Louis the German, and because his duties kept him away from St. Gallen for much of the time he appointed Hartmut deputy abbot.

Hartmut came from a local family, studied at Fulda and was a close friend of Otfried of Weissenburg. He became abbot in 872 and held office for eleven years. A good administrator, he maintained fruitful relations with the imperial court, as a result of which the abbey acquired a reputation as a cultural centre and developed into a sort of academy. Three of the academy’s members were poets: Notker

*Abbot Go bert*

*The role of Abbot  
Hartmut*



Balbulus, Tuotilo and Ratpert. Notker, a man gifted not only with a flair for poetry but also with a perceptive eye for history, wrote historical treatises, some of which – such as the *Gesta Caroli Magni Imperatoris* – were dedicated to local rulers. Tuotilo composed tropes, set hymns to music and wrote a chronicle of the abbey (*Casus Sancti Galli*), as did Ratpert.<sup>130</sup>

Hartmut's successor as abbot was Berngar, who held office for seven years (883-890) before being succeeded in turn by Abbot Salomon I (890-919), a future Bishop of Constance. Salomon, a larger-than-life figure, was connected with the Emperor's family and related to all the top civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the surrounding country. Honours and titles were conferred on him, yet in spite of the objections to his multiple involvement in worldly affairs he succeeded in holding on to his position as abbot and gained more and more property for the abbey, including three new dependencies: the smaller monasteries of Pfäfers (in Chur-Rhaetia), Faurndau and Massimo (on Lake Maggiore).

Thereafter the abbey went into a gradual decline, and St. Gallen Abbey was completely destroyed by fire following the Hungarian invasion of 926. From then until about the middle of the fifteenth century conditions in the abbey bore no resemblance to what they had been under Gozbert. Only then, between 1463 and 1491, did St. Gallen enjoy a revival of its fortunes under the guidance of Abbot Ulrich Rösch.<sup>131</sup> Thanks to the new abbot's prudent administration of its property, his inexhaustible energy and his decisiveness, the abbey regained its former prestige. Besides saving the abbey's assets and estates, Rösch revived the abbey school, sent a number of monks on educational tours and reorganized the library.

The Reformation caused a short-lived upheaval in the life of the abbey, but order was restored by the Second Peace of Kappel in 1531.<sup>132</sup> Before long St. Gallen Abbey regained its political, economic and religious identity, and it was one of the first abbeys to join the Swiss Confederation. The number of monks began to grow rapidly once again and the abbey's estates around Constance and beyond the Rhine, as well as the various imperial privileges it still enjoyed, gave it a cosmopolitan character. It was well served by a number of inspired and able churchmen, one of whom was Coelestin Sfondrati of Milan, who was subsequently a candidate for the papacy. When the Confederation Peace of Baden im Aargau was concluded in 1718, the abbey church and the Baroque library were completely rebuilt: these projects were completed in 1766. In 1803, in the Napoleonic period, St. Gallen Abbey was placed under the jurisdiction of the Grand Council of the Canton of St. Gallen and so lost its autonomous status (8th May 1805).<sup>133</sup>



**Teaching and learning.** The evidence available concerning the courses run by the teachers at St. Gallen Abbey for the education of their monks is fuller than it is for any other early monastic community. What is more, the extant manuscripts – actually surviving *in situ* – supply the most reliable testimony to the nature and extent of the learning on offer in the abbey. In contrast to many other monastic seats of learning, not only did the monks and abbots of St. Gallen follow the curriculum laid down by Cassiodorus for the Monastery of the Vivarium, involving the study of the seven liberal arts and the Latin language, but at the same time they encouraged the preservation of the German literary tradition by translating Latin works into the vernacular. They also applied their talents to hymn-writing and, to a very high level, the arts of miniature painting and calligraphy. The extent to which the monks were constantly stretching their minds is illustrated by the fact that from the ninth century onwards they started teaching Greek, admittedly at a rudimentary level, as well as Latin.

The school of St. Gallen Abbey performed a dual function as an ‘internal’ and an ‘external’ school.<sup>134</sup> The former served the needs of those with a monastic vocation, the latter the needs of schoolchildren and students who were not intending to withdraw from the world. The two streams were probably separated during the abbacy of Gozbert (816-837), presumably to comply with the reforms laid down by the Synod of Aachen (816-817), which forbade the admission to monastic schools of pupils who were not destined for the ‘other’ life. This particular initiative of the Abbot of St. Gallen was in line with Charlemagne’s famous decree of 789 (the *Admonitio generalis*),



18. A Roman orator, probably Cicero. Drawing in a Latin school book of the seventh or eighth century. St. Gallen (Cod. Sang. 912, p. 3).

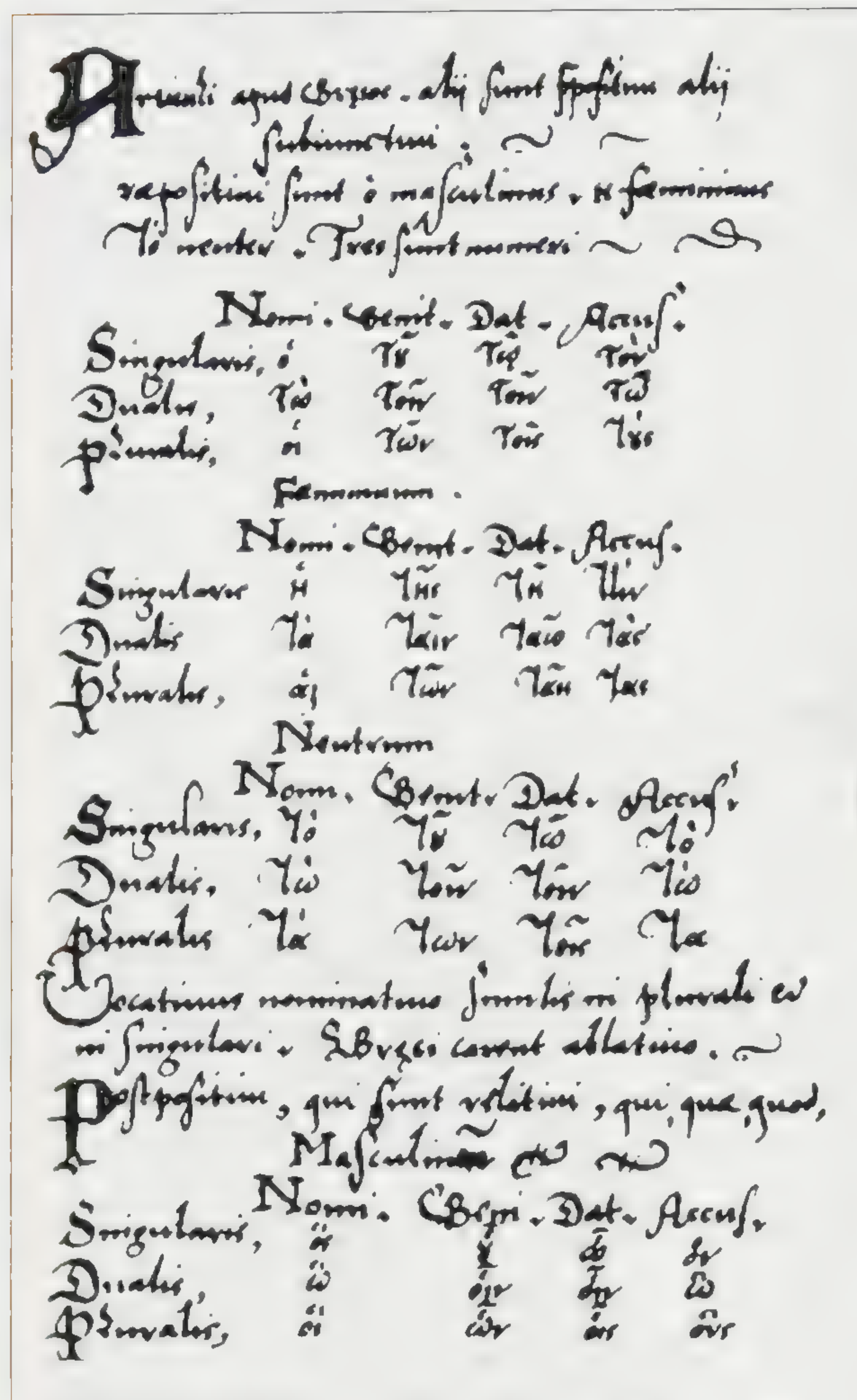
The schools  
of St. Gallen



19. ‘The old man teaches the loving soul’. Illumination in a codex of Otto of Passau dating from the fourteenth century. St. Gallen (Sang. 987, p. 93).



which enjoined: 'And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery and bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal have to be copied let men of mature age do the copying, with the greatest care.'<sup>135</sup>



20. Grammar textbook by Nicolaus Lindenmann, ca. 1567. Page showing the declension of the definite article in Greek. St. Gallen (Sang. 1291, p. 9).

The fundamental requirement for the early stages of schooling, as already mentioned, was a good knowledge of Latin.<sup>136</sup> The young pupils committed to memory the Psalms and various other relatively easy passages of Latin, such as verses by Cato, which the teachers read out and the boys wrote down on wax tablets. The pupils then moved on to the rules of grammar, which they learnt in question-and-answer form using Donatus's *Ars grammatica minor*. Additional textbooks included abridged dictionaries, with which they enlarged their vocabularies: one of those was the *Codex Abrogans*, a Latin-German dictionary of synonyms compiled shortly after 800, probably not at St. Gallen.<sup>137</sup>

The study of the correct use of language and the art of rhetoric was patterned on the models of Roman antiquity and the standard classroom practice was for the pupils to write short pieces of prose or verse. The next stage was concerned with the study of classical authors of recognized merit, such as Cicero and Sallust, with critical comment from the teachers. Poetry was included in these lessons, special attention being given to Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, Horace's *Odes*, Juvenal's *Satires* and the *Pharsalia*, the epic on the Roman Civil War. Of the early Christian writers of poetry, those high on the syllabus included Prudentius (*Psychomachia*) and Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*), among others.



The rules for ‘constructing’ speeches – and other prose as well – were based on treatises on rhetoric by Quintilian, Marius Victorinus and, above all, Cicero. The discipline of prosody, which had crystallized in writings by Mallius Theodorus, Diomedes and the Venerable Bede (*De arte metrica*), was taught by means of fair copies for the composition of Latin verse. Finally, the composition of an original piece of writing on a subject set by the teacher, usually called *debitum diei magistro* (daily assignment), gave a measure of each pupil’s competence and talent.<sup>138</sup>

An essential requirement for the proper rendering of prepared speeches, grammatically constructed and lucidly expressed, was logical reasoning, in other words dialectics, which was inseparably connected with grammar and rhetoric. The standard aids for the acquisition of the necessary skills were Latin translations of works by Aristotle and Boethius, such as the epitome of Aristotle’s *Logic*.<sup>139</sup>

The trivium was followed by the quadrivium, which comprised arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.<sup>140</sup> The theories of natural science were also of use in the practical aspects of life. One of the books the teachers made use of in these lessons was Boethius’s *Institutio arithmetica*, and the pupils also did exercises using an abacus. At a higher level, in the study of heavenly bodies, that is astronomy – for an educated monk had to know about the relative positions of the stars and to be able to work out the length of the night from their movements – they studied Aratus’s didactic poem *Phenomena*. It is not known how thoroughly they were taught geometry, but on the evidence of the surviving manuscripts in the abbey library it can safely be said that the geometry lessons were based on the *Altercatio duorum geometricorum*, which was wrongly attributed to Boethius in the Middle Ages.<sup>141</sup>

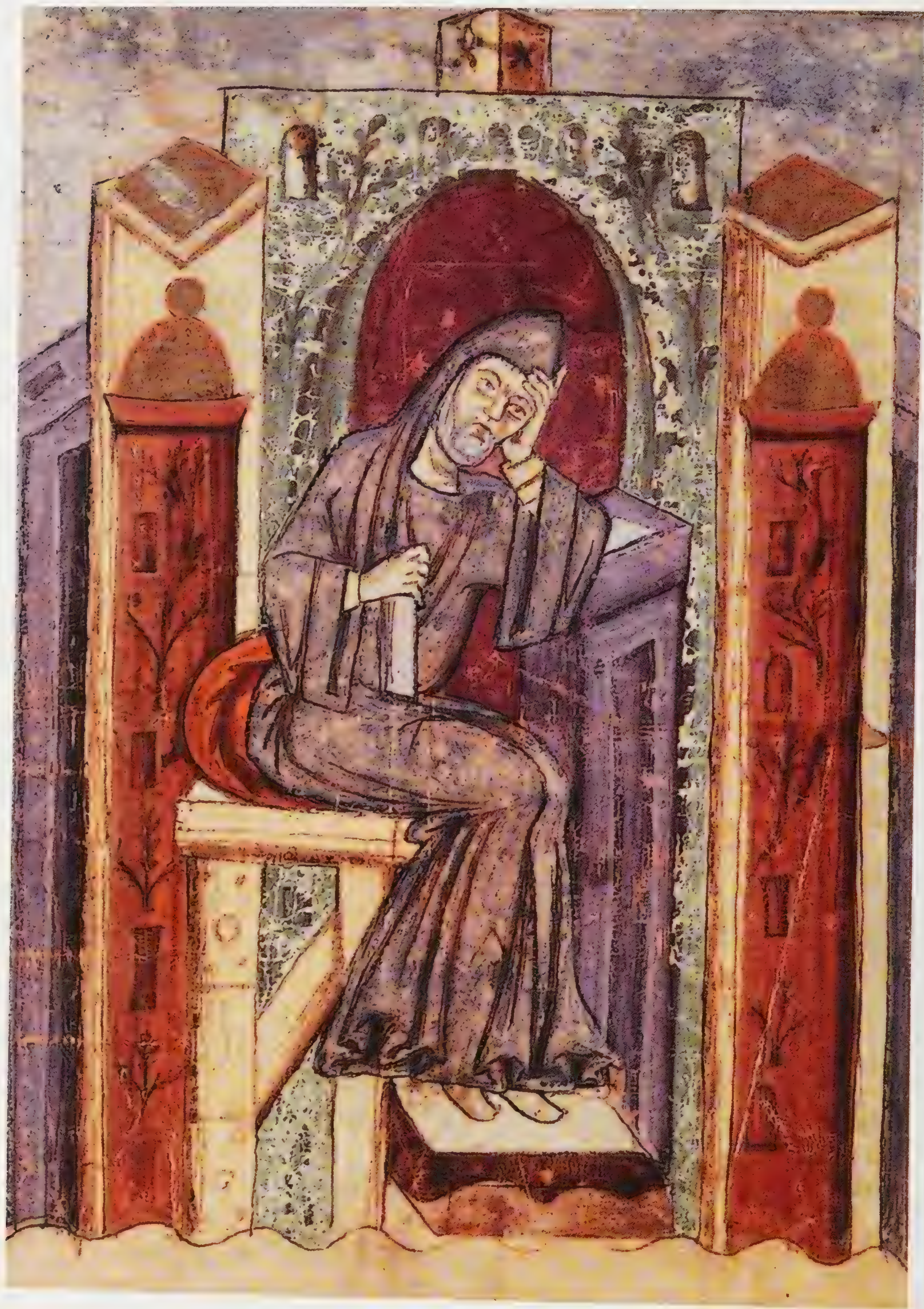
Besides the liberal arts, it was obviously essential for any educated monk who aspired to high ecclesiastical office to be thoroughly grounded in religious knowledge. Theology was not established as a branch of learning in its own right until the twelfth century, but in the Early Christian period ‘theological’ discipline called for the study of Holy Writ and the writings of the Church Fathers, which together were commonly known as *sacra eruditio* or *sacra doctrina*. Besides reading and interpreting the Gospels, every monk had to read the 150 Psalms, as these hymns from the Old Testament accounted for a large proportion of the divine office to be recited daily.<sup>142</sup>

The process of education, covering tuition in the seven liberal arts and religious instruction, was not confined to the classroom. Ekkehart IV, in his *History of the Monastery of St. Gallen*, informs us that the novices had such affection and admiration for their teachers that they were utterly devoted to them outside school

The seven  
liberal arts

Teacher-pupil  
relations







hours, and so they would form small groups for further discussion on scholarly matters. Ratpert, interestingly, describes himself as an ‘eye-witness’ teacher, and others such as Notker I and Tuotilo also rendered invaluable service as teachers and mentors.<sup>143</sup>

Around the year 850 a fresh infusion of Irish blood gave a powerful boost to the educational and literary activities in St. Gallen Abbey. The influence of Bishop Marcus and his nephew Marcellus (also known as Moengal) is apparent at many points.<sup>144</sup> Marcellus took over as principal of the ‘internal’ school while Iso was in charge of the ‘external’ school.<sup>145</sup> Among Marcellus’s pupils were Notker, who modestly nicknamed himself Balbulus (‘the Stammerer’),<sup>146</sup> Ratpert<sup>147</sup> and Tuotilo,<sup>148</sup> who devoted themselves to the abbey in many different ways and in a spirit of rare harmony, imparting to the other monks a deeper knowledge of the seven liberal arts, especially music and hymnography. These three pupils of Marcellus, who later became inspirational teachers in their turn and all had an artistic flair, distinguished themselves in different fields: Notker for setting the rhythm of hymn-writing, Ratpert<sup>149</sup> for writing the first chronicle of the abbey and composing an ode in Old High German (now lost) in honour of Gallus, and Tuotilo as a musician and artist.

*The Irish at St.  
Gallen Abbey*

Another innovation in education was the teaching of Greek and the reading of works of classical Greek literature. Marcellus, who had a good knowledge of Greek, took it upon himself to teach Notker, who then taught Greek to Abbot Salomon I.<sup>150</sup> Notker actually mentions a ‘Greek confraternity’ in the abbey, presumably referring to a group of pupils who were learning Greek.<sup>151</sup> The textbooks used in Greek teaching included a grammar written in the abbey, which still exists,<sup>152</sup> and a bilingual (Greek and Latin) Gospel book written in the Irish Insular script.<sup>153</sup> It is also known that Notker, in his efforts to perfect his own knowledge of Greek, borrowed a Greek copy of the canonical Epistles from Bishop Liutward of Vercelli and managed to copy them ‘with great labour’.<sup>154</sup>

An extremely important figure in the educational work of St. Gallen Abbey was Notker III, who in his lifetime was known by the nicknames Labeo (‘Broad-lipped’) and Teutonicus (because he was a translator from Latin into Greek).<sup>155</sup> His whole personality and his literary preferences were unprecedented. Devoted heart and soul to his educational work in the St. Gallen school from about 950 to 1022, he did much to elevate the status of Old High German and to shape the

*Notker Labeo’s  
achievements*

21. Notker Balbulus in meditative mood. Miniature from a late eleventh-century codex. Zurich, Zurich State Archives (AG 19 XXXV).



language and its literature.<sup>156</sup> He translated and annotated Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* (as we have seen),<sup>157</sup> and his own works included paraphrases of Aristotle's *Categoriae* and *De interpretatione*, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella and excerpts from the Bible.<sup>158</sup> His profound linguistic knowledge resulted in the introduction of numerous neologisms which enriched the German language. The importance of Notker's achievements is proved by the fact that he is regarded as the founding father of the use of formal German literature in the study of the seven liberal arts, of which rhetoric (modelled on Cicero himself) is simply an example of the general educational discipline he introduced.<sup>159</sup>

The most valuable sources of evidence concerning the standards and the breadth of coverage of the schooling and general education offered by the abbey are the books that still survive there: 530 parchment codices, of which 470 are kept in the library.<sup>160</sup> Besides the large number of liturgical and other religious books that one would expect, the extant medieval manuscripts include textbooks and other works used as aids in the monks' education and all kinds of examples of their written and artistic expression.

The St. Gallen school is noted for its continuity from the eighth to the twelfth century, in contrast to other monastic schools which periodically introduced educational 'reforms' and changes that devalued local traditions. Monks who, as novices, had received their education from experienced teachers followed in their masters' footsteps, so endowing St. Gallen Abbey with the necessary discipline and tranquillity through the quest for knowledge and prayer, as is amply demonstrated by the atmosphere of its library.

**The Scriptorium and Library.** An inexhaustible source of the knowledge contained in a particularly fine and well-stocked library was the scriptorium, prompting an apt comment from Walter Berschir about the legend surrounding it. Its location in the abbey, abutting on the north side of the abbey church, is marked on the plan drawn at Reichenau Abbey in about 825, when Gozbert was Abbot of St. Gallen.<sup>161</sup>

Even in very early times, under Abbot Otmar (*ca.* 720), a literacy programme was in operation at St. Gallen and the abbey had its own scriptorium<sup>162</sup> where fine manuscripts were written in the local script. The first calligrapher known by name was a certain Winithar, who, in collaboration with fourteen others, copied numerous theological and educational works from 760 onwards.<sup>163</sup> But the heyday of the scriptorium was the period of Gozbert's abbacy (816-837), when,

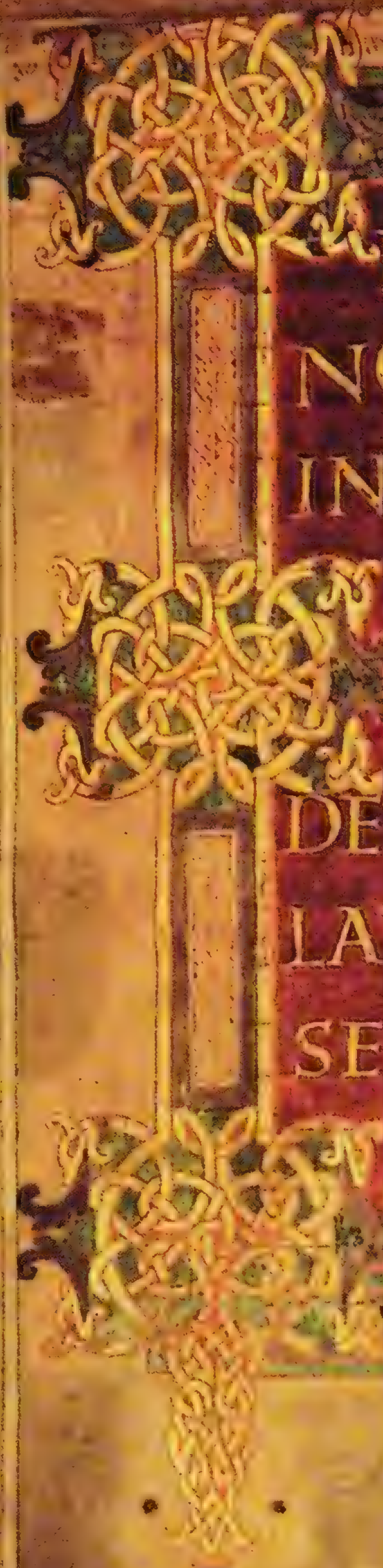


under the supervision of the calligrapher Wolfcoz, at least a hundred copyists worked there full-time, as evidenced by the seventy codices still surviving from that time.<sup>164</sup> It was then that official manuscript of the Rule of St. Benedict was copied: it is the oldest extant copy of the Rule and is still one of the abbey library's treasures.<sup>165</sup>

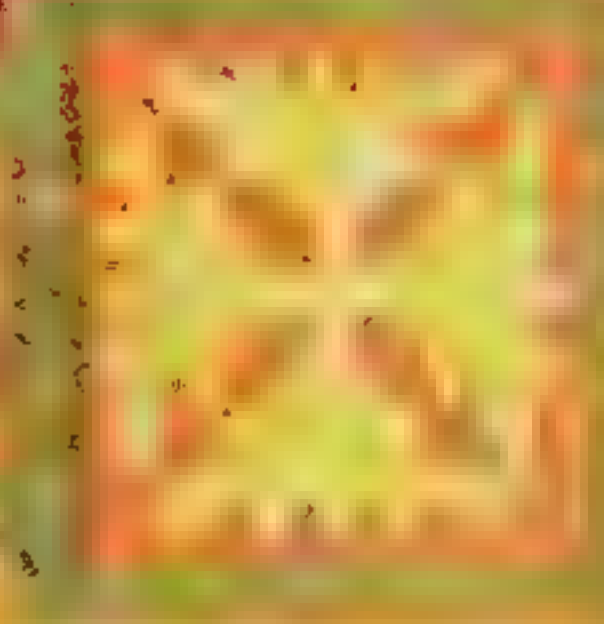


22. St. Mark. Illumination in a manuscript Gospel book written in the Irish style at St. Gallen Abbey, post 750 (Sang. 51, p. 78).





N XPI IN TE  
NOMIN PRET  
INCIPIT EM E  
PSAL DATV  
TERIV A SC  
DETRANS HIER  
LATIONE NIM  
SEPTVA PRBO  
GINA NOV









The St. Gallen scriptorium enjoyed a revival in the mid ninth century following a fresh influx of Irish calligrapher monks, who introduced a new aesthetic and new forms into the art of the miniature and sometimes used the Irish script. It was then that Hartmut copied an eight-volume Bible notable for the accuracy of the text, while especial care was taken over a number of works of Latin literature that were copied not only to enrich the library but also for use as textbooks in the work of the school.<sup>166</sup> A book list (*Breviarium Librorum*) dating from the middle of the ninth century attests to the size and contents of the library: the Irish manuscripts are listed separately under the heading of *Libri scottice scripti*<sup>167</sup> and the librarians are mentioned by name for the first time.<sup>168</sup>

From the early tenth century, after the burning of the abbey by the Magyars in 926, it took a very long time for the scriptorium to return to its former glory. It was not until the eleventh century that manuscripts and illuminations worthy of St. Gallen's artistic tradition were produced there again.<sup>169</sup>

**The artistic value of manuscripts.** Manuscript illuminations in the Middle Ages served purposes very different from those of illustrations in books today. The architectural setting surrounding the main subject (which was usually a portrait) followed specific models of the earlier iconographic tradition and was generally symbolic in character. However, the miniaturists of the St. Gallen scriptorium drew inspiration from the local tradition for new forms and designs, introducing new types seldom found elsewhere. 'Decoration' as an element of illustration is not permitted in theological writings and medieval calligraphers concentrated on the content of the text, regarding illustration as a matter of secondary importance: their objective was neither more nor less than to strengthen the impact of the truth. When illuminating theological manuscripts, the miniaturist took his pictorial subjects from descriptions given in the Scriptures: from the Old Testament, the Psalms and the prophetic and other books of the Bible. He judged the success of his efforts not by whether he had created an artistic masterpiece but by whether he had advanced the cause of his own salvation and remission of sins.<sup>170</sup>



23. Decorative initial (Beatus Vir) from the most famous codex produced by the St. Gallen school. An example of the miniature art of Folchart, commissioned by Hartmut between 865 and 872. St. Gallen (Sang. 23).

24. King David writing, facing a group of calligraphers. Manuscript illumination from the Folchart Psalter, written ca. 872-883. St. Gallen (Sang. 23, p. 9).





S. CLETE. OR.

S. CLEMENS OR.

S. XISTE. OR.

S. CORNELI. OR.

S. CYPRIANE. OR.

S. ALEXANDER. OR.

S. LAURENTI. OR.

S. CYRIACE. OR.

S. MAURICI. OR.

S. DESIDERI. OR.

S. ANTPERT. OR.

S. LEODEGARI. OR.

S. BONEFACI. OR.

OMNES MART.

XP. OR. P. NOB.

S. CIPRESS.

S. SILVASTOR. OR.

S. AGONI. OR.

S. LEO. OR.

S. HILARI. OR.

S. MARTINO. OR.

S. ANTHROSI. OR.

S. AUGUSTINO. OR.

S. CASSIANE. OR.

S. REMIGI. OR.

S. PASTOR. OR.

S. PASTOR. OR.

S. PASTOR. OR.

OMNES CESSORES

XP. OR. P. NOB.



The art of the illuminated manuscript made its appearance in the St. Gallen scriptorium in the late eighth century with the introduction of historiated initials, which was the first step towards illustrations in very many scriptoria.<sup>171</sup> More often than not the initials were simple designs or reproductions of decorative motifs, of no particular artistic pretensions. An example of this approach is to be seen in the initial of Cod. Sang. 125 in the St. Gallen library. This early type of design reached its zenith in the mid ninth century with the emergence of an artistic 'school' that concentrated on illuminated initials, exemplified by the calligrapher Sintram and the *Evangelium Longum*.<sup>172</sup>

**The Folchart Psalter.** This Psalter is one of the few codices that can be dated (between 864 and 883); if it really was the work of Abbot Hartmut, as is widely believed, it must have been produced between 872 and 883.<sup>173</sup> The idea of writing the Psalter was connected with the tendency among St. Gallen calligraphers to portray King David as the author of the Psalms, the implication being that he is to be identified with Charlemagne, the king and emperor.<sup>174</sup> The reference to the king is particularly clear in this case, considering the symbolism of the Psalter in relation to the tradition of purple manuscripts in late antiquity.<sup>175</sup> Of all the exquisite ornamentation in this exceptionally fine codex it is worth mentioning the opening at pages 30-31, containing the incipit. These initials exemplify not only the artistic style of the St. Gallen scriptorium but the art and techniques of the Late Carolingian period generally.<sup>176</sup> A superscription across the top of these two pages (134-135) of the Psalter is of interest to librarians, for it admonishes: *Auferat hunc librum nullus hinc omne per aevum / Cum Gallo partem quisquis habere velit* ('Let no one who wishes to share eternal life with Gallus remove this book from here').<sup>177</sup>

**The Golden Psalter.** The *Psalterium aureum Sancti Galli* is notable for the thoroughly *malerisch* painting on the title page, which depicts King David as a musician, seated on his throne and surrounded by other musicians and dancers beneath a monumental arch against a purple background.<sup>178</sup> This codex exemplifies the most sublime level of artistry reached in miniature painting under Abbot Salomon III (890-919). Examples of the Carolingian manuscript style had already seen the light some decades earlier, and so the Psalters written during this period testify to the 'golden age' of St. Gallen Abbey.

25. *Initials from the Folchart Psalter.*



MUS DAVID.



ui dñm. & inten  
dit mihi.

Quoniam hic est dñs  
dñs. noster in aeter  
num. & in saeculum  
saeculi. ipse rex &  
nos in saecula.

chore psalmus



pte om̃s qui habi

Speret isrl̃ in dño.  
ex hoc nunc. &  
usq. in saeculum.

CANT. GRADUUM



MENTO

ONE DAVID. ET

omni nationi. & iu  
dicia sua non ma  
nifestavit eis.

ALLELUIA

TI DñM

LAUDATI IŨ

IX

Laudate eum om̃s











The Golden Psalter of St. Gallen is illuminated with miniatures selected to support a specific ideology.<sup>179</sup> The religious scenes represent the Last Judgment, while the torments and the Passion of Christ connote the triumph of the Resurrection. All the illuminations in this cycle are so closely interconnected that any change in their setting would quite simply demolish their inner logic. That being so, this manuscript of the Psalms is the only one of its kind in its pictorial tradition and could certainly not have been produced by any monastery other than St. Gallen, whose monks had acquired a profound knowledge of poetry and liturgical music.

**The library.** There were two main sources of new acquisitions for the St. Gallen library. One was the books brought in by Irish and other missionaries, many of whom remained in the abbey for life; the other was the impressive output of books written or copied in the abbey's scriptorium at various periods. With their heavy eye make-up and frontal tonsure, the Irish missionaries stood out conspicuously on their pilgrimages to the Apostolic See. On their way home the Abbey of St. Gallen was one of their regular staging-posts, which caused some of them to change their minds about going back to Ireland. Two of those who stayed on there were Bishop Marcus and his nephew Marcellus, who handed over their personal belongings and their collections of books to the abbey.<sup>180</sup> Ekkehart IV records other cases of the same kind and those Irishmen as extremely well versed in secular and religious literature at every level. He adds that on their travels they contained to broaden their learning, as we know from the books they carried with them, which were mostly in Latin but some in Greek and some written in the Celtic script.<sup>181</sup>

Towards the end of the ninth century, when Abbot Hartmut (872-883) took charge of the running of the library himself, he inherited a motley collection of books which, incredible though it may seem, did not contain such basic theological texts as the writings of Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great. In their place he found works by St. Methodius and Tichonius, the *Letters* of Bishop Faustus of Riez, the *Apocalypse* of St. John and sundry other works. Educational books were few and far between and were limited to Aratus's *Phenomena*, some manuals of law, grammar books, a number of historical romances including the *Historia Francorum* and the *History of the Trojan War*, and a book by Vergetius on military tactics.<sup>182</sup>



26. *The interior of the St. Gallen library as it is today, after being altered, decorated and furnished under Abbot Beda Angelhorn (1767-1796).*



Hartmut surpassed himself in his efforts to enlarge the library: working as a scribe, as we have seen, he copied out the Old Testament himself and bequeathed an eight-volume edition to the abbey.<sup>183</sup> It was in his time that the organization of the library was reformed: a monk was deputed to serve as librarian and instructed to draw up a catalogue of the manuscripts (*Breviarium Librorum*). This first catalogue, dating from the ninth century, lists 361 manuscripts which reflect the intellectual interests of the St. Gallen monastic community.<sup>184</sup>

Contemporary catalogues of local monastic libraries suggest that strong emphasis was placed on the acquisition of manuscripts of linguistic interest such as the *libri scottice scripti*, as we have seen.<sup>185</sup> Among the titles mentioned in one such catalogue, compiled at St. Gallen Abbey circa 884-888, are two copies of the Old Testament, seven of the New Testament, three manuscripts of biblical exegesis, one codex containing patristic writings and other hagiological and liturgical books.<sup>186</sup> Out of the many manuscripts written in the Irish script that were in the library at one time or another, fifteen now remain, of which only four are complete and the rest fragmentary: they date from between the seventh and the twelfth century.

Other books in the St. Gallen library included those relating to the life and work of the abbey's founder and his mentor, such as the Rule of the Monk and the Monastic Rule of St. Columbanus and sundry letters and treatises attributed to him.<sup>187</sup> Mention should be made of the *Life of St. Columbanus* by Jonas of Bobbio, the *Life of St. Gallus* by monks of Bobbio Abbey and the *Lives* of other Irish missionaries.<sup>188</sup>

For a long period between the mid tenth and the mid fifteenth century the abbey and its library were hardly recognizable as the home of that flowering of scholarship and the arts under Abbot Hartmut. In the summer of 1416, when the Council of Constance was in progress and many of the leading members of the Curia (as well as Manuel Chrysoloras) were in the neighbourhood, three of the secretaries in the papal delegation – Poggio, Cencio Rustici and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano – decided to go on a tour of the area, taking in the Abbey of St. Gallen.<sup>189</sup> All three were fanatical book-lovers, and they were appalled when they saw the state of the library in Hartmut's tower. Cencio records that at the sight of those mildewed, dusty, worm-eaten books in the derelict rooms they wept with grief and inveighed against the abbot, Heinrich von Gundelfingen, and the whole community: 'The abbot and monks of this abbey are strangers to all knowledge and to literature. O barbarous land, hostile to the Latin language! O vile dregs of humanity!'<sup>190</sup> But at least the visit of the three humanists was not a complete waste of time, for they discovered hitherto unknown works including a complete manu-

Reorganization  
of the library

The dereliction  
of the library



script of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (until then known only from an imperfect copy) and three other works also unknown in Italian libraries – the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus and two volumes of commentaries on Cicero's speeches – as well as works by Silius Italicus and Marcus Manilius. Some of these they borrowed and had copied.<sup>191</sup>

Under Abbot Ulrich Rösch (1463-1491) the abbey underwent a complete transformation. Among other things, the abbey school was revived and order was restored in the library.<sup>192</sup> A new catalogue was compiled from scratch, many of the books were rebound and an annual grant of a hundred guilders was set aside for new acquisitions. By this time typography was well established – which incidentally meant that book production and distribution were reorganized on a new footing and anybody who could afford it had access to a share in the store of knowledge – and so most of the money was spent on printed books: not only works of theology, philosophy and law, but also Latin literature, humanist writings and German folk tales, which were very popular at the time.

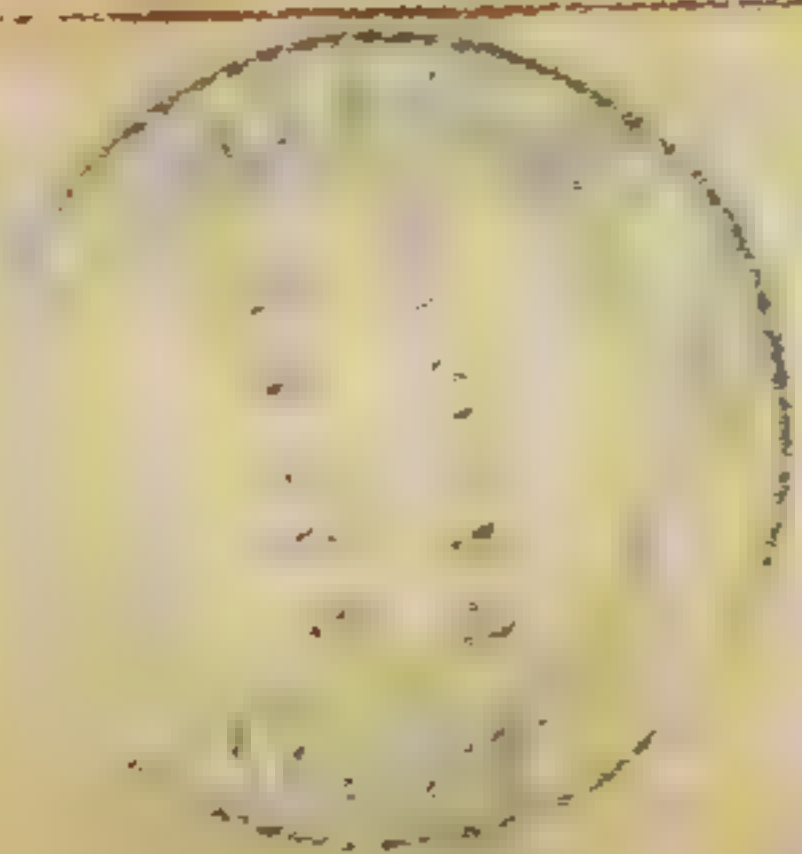
**The library and scriptorium of Corbie Abbey.** The library and scriptorium of Corbie Abbey are typical instances of the improvements made in monasteries during the Carolingian period. Furthermore, the chronicle of the library highlights the depredations inflicted on monastic libraries through the ages by warring armies, aspiring bibliophiles and the guardians (or non-guardians) of the books themselves.

The Abbey of Corbie (Corbey) was founded in 657 by Queen Bathilde, widow of Clovis II, and dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.<sup>193</sup> It followed the Rule of St. Benedict, and before long the abbey school had gained such a reputation that it was attracting pupils who went on to win distinction in French political, ecclesiastical and intellectual life in the eighth and ninth centuries: these included Abbot Grimo,<sup>194</sup> whom Charles Martel sent on a mission to Pope Gregory III; Charlemagne's adviser Adelard;<sup>195</sup> the younger Adelard, who founded Corvey Abbey;<sup>196</sup> Druthmar the Grammarian, who had a successful career as a teacher at the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmédy,<sup>197</sup> and, among many others, the monk named John<sup>198</sup> who was invited to England by Alfred the Great to reform the educational curriculum.

The success of any monastic school and the scope of its teaching programme depended mainly on the size and breadth of its library or the private book collec-

27. *St. John the Evangelist in the Corbie Gospels. Manuscript illumination in a codex written at Beauvais in the late eleventh century. Amiens, Bibliothèque Métropole (Ms 24 C, fo. 108v).*







tions of its teachers and grammarians, who suited their courses to the contents of the books they had at their disposal. The Corbie library is not typical of the monastic libraries that developed and expanded in the Carolingian period: what makes it more of an exception is that by the 770s it already possessed a considerable number of manuscripts, some of which had been written in their own scriptorium while other, older ones had been acquired from various sources.<sup>199</sup> It is also quite possible that the Corbie library came into the possession of books from the palace library, particularly during the abbacy of Adelard (780-814 and 821-826), who was the Emperor's cousin, and even more so after Charlemagne's death and the dispersal of his library.<sup>200</sup>

**Documentary evidence of the nucleus of the library.** The nucleus of the library probably consisted of the books listed in a unique document which is simply a rough catalogue of the manuscripts of works by Latin writers in the library of Charlemagne's court. Naturally enough this catalogue, which occurs in MS Berlin Diez. B 66 and is one of the oldest surviving medieval book lists, has been closely examined for clues to the authorship and provenance of its contents.<sup>201</sup> Two different scribes can be recognized by their handwriting: one of them listed various grammar books including works by Donatus, Servius and Pompeius, a treatise entitled *De litteris* and excerpts from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*;<sup>202</sup> the other, whose handwriting suggests that he probably came from Italy, expanded the catalogue by adding the titles of poems by members of the court and some rare works of Latin literature, such as the anonymous commentary on Servius's *Centimetrum*.<sup>203</sup> This catalogue, recording the existence of such a large number of Latin works in a single library, constitutes documentary evidence unparalleled in the context of the Frankish Empire in the late eighth century and attests to the existence of a remarkable circle of scholars.

It has been suggested that this catalogue of the Corbie and refers to manuscripts in its library, on the basis of the correspondence of its titles with the books known to have been in the Corbie library's possession.<sup>204</sup> Although this hypothesis seems very unlikely, it does shed light on the existence of a network of books from which the Corbie library, among others, was able to obtain new material. The oldest manuscripts in the abbey, either written there or bought in southern France, northern Italy or perhaps Rome itself, were read by a careful reader early in the eighth century, probably a teacher, who jotted down marginal notes in an extremely discriminating way.<sup>205</sup> We have to assume that these books, which existed before 814 (the year of Charlemagne's death), were supplemented by a significant



influx of manuscripts from the dispersal of the Emperor's library and others copied specially for Corbie. This assumption is supported by the fact that copies of some works of Latin literature existed in both libraries: for example, works by Terence, Sallust, Statius, Martial, Julius Victor and Marius Victorinus's grammar textbook, all of which were recopied at Corbie in 850 or soon after.<sup>206</sup>

Among the thirty codices written in the 'a-b script' there are old copies of works by Bede and writings by Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and Theodore of Mopsuestia, indicating a reconciliation with the patristic writings of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Also noteworthy are other manuscripts reflecting the monks' intellectual interests, such as Proba's *Cento* and poems by Venantius Fortunatus, as well as school books containing treatises by Phocas and Donatus.<sup>207</sup>

The multiplication of the stock of books in the Carolingian period is evident in the scriptorium and library of Corbie Abbey than anywhere else. All the surviving classical works written in majuscule were recopied at high speed in minuscule and then served as prototypes for new manuscripts, which in their turn opened the floodgates for a constant spate of textual editing.<sup>208</sup> This upsurge in the reproduction and publication of Latin literature is attested in the mid ninth century by a chronicle of the Corbie scriptorium, a project that may have been initiated by the personality of the abbey librarian, Hadoardus by name.<sup>209</sup> The classics copied at this time included, among many others, works by Columella, Sallust, Livy, Seneca the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Macrobius, Caesar, Vitruvius, Ovid and Terence.

Hadoardus, a younger contemporary of Paschasius Radbertus, played an important part in the transmission of works of Latin literature.<sup>210</sup> It has been verified that the remarkable increase in the rate of reproduction of classical and patristic writings at Corbie in the late ninth century coincides with Hadoardus's period of activity as a copyist. What is more, he himself made great improvements in the textual accuracy of Cicero's works: not only did he supply passages missing from an incomplete copy of the Roman orator's *De oratore*, but he cast a critical eye over his philosophical writings as well, as evidenced by the lavishly ornamented first page of the relevant codex copied in the local scriptorium.<sup>211</sup> A characteristic feature of the dual intellectual tradition prevailing in the abbey is the fact that Hadoardus, following the line of the Latin Church Fathers, sometimes altered the wording of Cicero's writings to bring them closer to the Christian spirit.<sup>212</sup>

Hadoardus's  
services to Corbie

**The library catalogue and evidence of the library's contents.** The oldest document providing a basis for an attempted reconstruction of the library's contents probably dates from the eleventh century. It is a fragment of a catalogue now

The library  
catalogues



in the Vatican Museum, headed *Hi libri reperti sunt in armario Sancti Petri*.<sup>213</sup> Another catalogue, which has been firmly attributed to the Corbie library, dates from the twelfth century,<sup>214</sup> and third (*Catalogus librorum Corbeiensis monasterii*) was probably compiled early in the thirteenth century.<sup>215</sup>

Not many conclusions can be drawn from the first catalogue fragment, but the second (written in about 1200) lists 342 titles and provides enough information to excite our admiration for the monks' diligence and intellectual interests, covering not



28. Initial J from the Corbie Psalter (fo. 81r).

only Christian literature but also the Graeco-Roman literary tradition.<sup>216</sup> The majority of the titles are treatises by the Church Fathers, both Western (including Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great) and Eastern (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius Pamphili, *Homilies* of John Chrysostom). Works by Early Christian writers, such as Tertullian, are also represented, and there are numerous manuscripts of biblical exegesis, mostly commentaries on the Gospels of St. John and St. Matthew. Besides these, there are a number of essays and treatises by Fortunatus (*Enigmata Althelmi*) and Fulgentius (*De questione Arriani*).

The shelves of the Corbie library also contained historical works dealing mainly with church history, by writers such as Orosius, Gregory of Tours, Hegesippus and Paul the Deacon. In amongst these were

secular histories such as the *Historia de bello Trojano*, the *Historia Gaii Caesaris belligalici*, Julius Caesar's *De bello gallico*, sundry historical works on Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander, treatises on Emperor Tiberius and books by Florus.

Another section of the library contained material from the Councils of Chalcedon and Nicaea, monastic rules (including the Rule of St. Benedict, needless to say), question-and-answer handbooks on works by Augustine, Bede and others, martyrologies and lives of saints: *Passio sancti Mauricii et sociorum*, *Memoria san-*

29. Psalter with 156 distinctive decorative initials, written and illuminated at Corbie in the early years of the ninth century. An initial T (Te Deum). Amiens, Bibliothèque Métropole (Ms 18C, fo. 137v).







*cti Michaelis, Inventio sancti Stephani, Passio sancti Ysaac et Maximiani, Vita Philippi episcopi* and others.

The writings of the three great Christian authors who strove to bridge the gap between the scholarly Graeco-Roman literary tradition and the Christian faith – Boethius, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville – are not only represented in the library catalogue but are present in considerable numbers of copies: *De consolazione philosophiae* and three codices on music and geometry by Boethius, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (in several copies) and *De anima* by Cassiodorus. To these didactic and educational books should be added handbooks on rhetoric, grammar and spelling, including works by Priscian (*Ars*), Diomedes and Probus (*Grammatica*), Smaragdus (*In partibus Donati*), Cicero (*Rhetorica*) and Pompeius (*Grammar*, with notes on Donatus), among many others.<sup>217</sup>

Prominent among the Latin writers represented are Pliny, Terence, Lucan, Virgil, Persius, Statius, Martial, Sallust, Servius,<sup>218</sup> Ovid, Livy<sup>219</sup> and Seneca. And it should be added that Greek studies were also a feature of the Corbie monks' education. One of the codices in the library contains the *Epistles* of St. Paul in Greek and Latin;<sup>220</sup> another is a glossary (*Glossarium grecum et latinum*).<sup>221</sup> There is no mention of any of Aristotle's writings nor of any other works to do with ancient philosophy apart from Plato's *Timaeus* – the only one of Plato's works surviving in northern Europe until the Renaissance<sup>222</sup> – and Boethius's commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. While on the subject of the Greek learning that must have been acquired by some monks from as early as the ninth century, it is worth mentioning a note written in Cod. St. Ger. 1276 containing various works by Jerome (*Contra Jovinianum*).<sup>223</sup> It is the colophon, written in Greek, which runs:

ΑΔΑΛΧΑΡΔΟΙC ΜΟΝΑΧΟΙC ΙΟCCHΤ ΦΗΕΡΗ  
ΥΟΛΟΙΜΕΝ ΗCΤΟΙΤ·  
ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΗΚΑΡΗCΤΑC· ΑΜΗΝ·

One final point to make is that books in French were few and far between at that time: clearly anything written in the vernacular was of no great interest to the educated monks of Corbie. That said, however, two books in the local language are particularly interesting: one is the Romance of Troy (*Li rommans de Troies*), translated in 1262 by the monk Jehans de Fliccicourt, and the other is the *Ceste conte de la terre d'outremer*.<sup>224</sup> There was an unspoken, unwritten rule restricting the monks' exposure to subjects and languages outside the normal range of scholarly interest, as there were still very few books written in French even in the fourteenth



century: one of those was the Rule of St. Benedict and there may also have been a French edition of the Psalter.<sup>225</sup>

**Copyists, calligraphers and librarians.** The majority of the manuscripts in the Corbie library come from within the abbey, that is from its scriptorium, which had a history of continuous operation from Charlemagne's time to the time of St. Louis. This copying workshop enjoyed the support of the Merovingian kings, who ensured that a steady supply of parchment was maintained to the scriptorium of Abbot Adelard; and in 822 Adelard engaged a specialist to prepare the parchment for the abbey.<sup>226</sup> The copyists who worked in the Corbie scriptorium from the eighth to the thirteenth century remained anonymous out of humility. Today it is not only palaeographers, but historians too, who would like to uncover their identities, so that the necessary attributions can be made to specific persons and their actions. Delisle drew up an alphabetical list of the abbey's scribes, including those recorded as having served as librarians (*armarii*).<sup>227</sup> Every scriptorium was headed by a monk who was responsible for drawing up the schedule of copying projects and overseeing its implementation. In spite of their supervisory status, these individuals too hid behind their anonymity, as is strikingly illustrated by a twelfth-century manuscript illumination depicting a Corbie monk presenting St. Peter with a book inscribed *Hoc munus oblatum monstrat amorem duorum*.<sup>228</sup> In the same category as the copyists we should mention the people who performed the vital task of copy correcting. Some of them signed their work but most remained in obscurity.

The earliest codex from the Corbie library to which any name can be attached no longer exists, for it was stolen soon after the French Revolution; nevertheless, we know that it was a copy of Ambrose's *Exposition of the Gospel according to St. Luke*. Two annotations, published before 1800 by Mabillon, inform us that the *Exposition* was written at the request of Leutcharius, who was Abbot of Corbie around the middle of the eighth century.<sup>229</sup> One other monk of that period whose name is known, and who probably checked the Livy for copyists' errors, was Abellinus.<sup>230</sup>

In the chronicle of the scriptorium the ninth century belongs to two monks both called Adelard. One, Abbot Adelard, who as we have seen was Charlemagne's cousin, copied a codex of the *Historia tripartita* in the Lombard script although he was in exile on the isle of Noirmoutier from 814 to 821. It was in his time, too, that the *Liber glossarum* – which later became a standard work of reference – was compiled.<sup>231</sup> A manuscript copied on the orders of the other Adelard, the abbot's son,



is the one that contained the Greek colophon mentioned earlier, as well as a large number of Greek words scattered throughout the text.<sup>232</sup> Around the year 880 Abbot Angilbertus copied one of Augustine's works in his own hand and dedicated it to Charlemagne's brother Louis.<sup>233</sup>

A copy of St. Paul's *Epistles* was copied in the tenth century at the request of a monk named Isaac.<sup>234</sup> while the Calendar in a Latin codex records the name of the scribe, Ratoldus, who was Abbot of Corbie in 972.<sup>235</sup>

A twelfth-century codex containing works by Jerome and Origen is adorned with a miniature of a monk kneeling at St. Jerome's feet, and a quatrain accompanying the illumination informs us that the scribe's name was Ivo.<sup>236</sup> The title page of a codex containing a commentary on Leviticus depicts a priest by the name of Andreas presenting the book to St. Peter: the Andreas in question was Abbot of Corbie in 1174 and 1178.<sup>237</sup> In 1164 a monk by the name of Félix apparently collaborated with Jean le Borgne in copying a manuscript of Florus.<sup>238</sup> Félix's fellow-scribe, Jean le Borgne, is the same person as the Johannes Monoculus from whose pen the Corbie library received quite a number of manuscripts including a collection of homilies copied in 1179 and Pierre le Mangeur's *History*.<sup>239</sup> At the head of a martyrology written in the twelfth century the monkish scribe, Nevelo, is depicted kneeling at St. Peter's feet and presenting the book to him. Nevelo is pictured again in other Corbie manuscripts such as the Rule of St. Benedict, where he is shown kneeling before the founder of monasticism.<sup>240</sup>

Lastly, a manuscript signed by Vuarambertus containing works by Paschasius Radbertus closes with a plea from the scribe to the reader, asking him to make sure he does not smudge or rub out the words, because anyone who does not know how to write has no idea of the difficulties facing the scribe. 'As the harbour is sweet to the sailor,' he continues, 'so is the last line of the book to the scribe.'<sup>241</sup>

**The librarians.** Nothing is known about the rules governing the organization and working of the library, nor about the precise duties of the librarian. Quite possibly the position was held by copyists, who succeeded each other in accordance with the abbot's wishes. The librarians are referred to as *armarii*, so called because they responsible for the contents of the chests or cupboards (*armaria*) where the manuscripts were kept.<sup>242</sup> The first person known to have held the title of *armar-*

30. Initial P in a codex of Florus's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles. The miniature immortalizes Richerius, the Prior of Corbie Abbey, who commissioned the codex, facing the scribe Johannes Monoculus.





188

ut humilium exaltet. Exaltat & qui a humilia res  
picit. exaltat autē a longe cognoscit. Humilia te.



*ius* in the Corbie library was Hadoardus, who, as already mentioned,<sup>243</sup> was responsible or partly responsible for the copying of a large number of works of Latin literature. In 1167 the librarian was Alardus Armarius, who is mentioned in a document of that year.<sup>244</sup>

For the proper maintenance and safe keeping of the manuscripts, and still more for the purchase of writing materials, the abbey needed to set money aside in a special fund, which had to be approved by the Holy See (Pope Alexander III in the period we are dealing with). At Corbie the librarian received a flat contribution of ten sous from each of the higher officers of the abbey and five sous from each of the inferior officers. He also received a quantity of grain from the canons of Clairfai and the revenues derived from the Branlères estates. According to the terms laid down in the Pope's letter, a percentage of the librarian's income was set aside to cover bookbinding costs.<sup>245</sup>

**Enlarging the library.** The growth of the library did not depend solely on the output of the abbey's scriptorium: at Corbie, as in other monasteries, there were always some members of the community and lay book-lovers connected with the abbey who supported the library by donating books. The situation in the period from the ninth to the fifteenth century can be summed up as follows.<sup>246</sup>

Among the manuscripts in the library were some bought in the Italian market, including a number written in the Lombard script, and some acquired in other ways: the monk Wala brought back with him from Rome four antiphonaries which the priest Amalarius consulted when doing his research for his treatise *De ordine antiphonarii*. We also know that Paul the Deacon, a priest of Monte Cassino Abbey, sent a manuscript containing letters of Gregory the Great, which he had edited himself, to Abbot Adelard of Corbie.<sup>247</sup> Then again, the close relations between Corbie and its daughter abbey of Corvey, founded by the younger Adelard, must have created a channel for the enrichment of the library either by exchanges or by loans of books for copying, or even by donations to the mother abbey.<sup>248</sup> Thus there were in the library manuscripts written in the Saxon script and others with annotations in German, dating from the Carolingian period.<sup>249</sup> Another codex, dating from the eleventh century, comes from Ireland and contains a collection of Irish canons. The monks of Corbie also kept their eye on the open market, as in the case of the manuscripts belonging to Master Daniel of Corbie in the time of

31. *The west front of the old church of Corvey Abbey, founded in 833 by monks from Corbie. The church was built between 873 and 885.*







Philippe-Auguste;<sup>250</sup> and the abbots sometimes bought books that had been lodged with them as security for a loan, as attested by a manuscript of Peter Lombard's commentary on the Psalms.<sup>251</sup>

Although the Corbie monks were interested in their library and in general took good care of it, the rules governing the protection of their literary and scholarly riches are not notable for their strictness and vigilance. The monks had no hesitation in lending books to other abbeys to be copied or consulted. In the early thirteenth century they lent a codex of works by Johannes Scotus Erigena to the

monks of Saint-Vincent at Laon, keeping only a defective manuscript (*Peri phision*) as security for it. A handwritten note in this codex informs us that the Corbie librarian, having weighed up the merits of the text, decided that it would be better to cast the book into the flames than to keep it,<sup>252</sup> for it was a work of Erigena's that had been declared heretical by Pope Honorius III. For one reason or another, it frequently happened that books lodged with the abbey as security were not returned to their owners: for example, the Corbie library acquired an eleventh-century manuscript belonging to the Abbey of St. Peter at Ghent.<sup>253</sup>



32. Portrait of Colbert engraved in 1666, the year in which the King of France's library was installed in the two houses in the rue Vivienne.

Éloi, with the result that that in 1259 it acquired two volumes containing the *Chronicle* of Hugues de Sainte-Marie and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.<sup>254</sup>

For most monasteries, the thirteenth century marked the beginning of a period of decline. The relaxation of monastic discipline affected the monks' reading habits and as a rule the monasteries had ceased to be the pre-eminent centres of book production.<sup>255</sup>

**The scriptorium.** In contrast to what happened in many other Benedictine monastery libraries, the monks of Corbie were not content merely to preserve the well-stocked library they had inherited from their predecessors: rather, they con-



tinued to enrich it with new books. As a rule, however, the new accessions were not manuscripts copied in the abbey's own scriptorium: most of them were bought from copying houses in Paris. At the same time, many manuscripts were donated to the abbey library by clerics and laymen: for example, the *Cérémonial* (Service Book) of Étienne de Conty records that Jean du Candas, a monk of Corbie, donated two missals for the Saint-Lucien chapel as well as several other manuscripts.<sup>256</sup> In 1378 another monk, Jean Pinchon, the abbey infirmarian, bought some manuscripts from Nicolas de Haronis of Tours, two of which still exist in the Amiens library.<sup>257</sup>

The principal benefactor of the Corbie library at the end of the fourteenth century was Étienne de Conty.<sup>258</sup> Born at Amiens in the middle of the fourteenth century, he was professed as a monk at Corbie at an early age. From there he was sent to Paris to study canon law. After taking his bachelor's degree he received his doctorate in 1376 and then returned to Corbie, where he was made an officer of the abbey and soon won the confidence of Abbot Jean de la Goue. At the latter's request he went to Rome, where he was warmly welcomed by Cardinal de Viviers and Pope Clement VII. At this point the Pope came under heavy pressure from Charles VI, who was strongly in favour of giving Corbie Abbey to Raoul de Roye. This disagreement blocked Étienne's elevation to the abbacy, but that did not prevent him from giving his continued strong support to the Corbie library.

On his death in 1413 Étienne left many of his books to the library, including liturgical ordinals and treatises on law, among many others. Thanks to his love of books some of his manuscripts bear his coat of arms and are notable for their very fine bindings: for example, a copy of Gratian and the *Miroir* of Guillaume Durand. He also put together composite codices: for instance, he added to a volume of biblical excerpts a table of the Epistles and Gospels recited frequently in the course of the ecclesiastical year. He also bequeathed to the library a large number of manuscripts that he had inherited, including the *Rosarium Guidonis de Baysio*, which he had acquired in Paris when he was studying there, and a manuscript of Thomas de Maalaa, which he had bought from a bookseller and had had illuminated and bound. From the same bookseller he purchased a copy of the Decretals in 1374, and for a compilation by Simon Bayret on the Clementines he paid sixteen francs plus three francs more to have it illuminated and rebound.<sup>259</sup>

**The dispersal of the library.** The sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth were a disastrous period for the Corbie library: the monks, by their own admission, had sunk to such a level of ignorance that most of them did not

*Benefactions  
and donations  
to the library*



understand what they read nor even what they chanted in church. Monks were seen giving ancient manuscripts indiscriminately to friends of theirs, and they turned a blind eye to cases of theft. When the reforms of the Congregation of St. Maur breathed new life into Corbie Abbey, the monks realized to their grief how much of the abbey's property had been frittered away and accused many scholars and literati of stealing manuscripts from the library with their own hands. Their wrath was directed particularly at Masson, P. Pithou, P. Sirmond, André Duchesne and Jacques Auguste de Thou,<sup>260</sup> while President Brisson himself had borrowed a large number of manuscripts which he had been prevented from returning by his sudden death.<sup>261</sup>

The case against Auguste de Thou is difficult to substantiate in the present instance, but the monks alleged that he had worked a swindle to enrich his collection of books at the abbey's expense.<sup>262</sup> During the troubles at the end of Henri III's reign, de Thou went to Corbie and paid a visit to the library, which had been taken over for use as a granary for victualling the army. While the porters were unloading the grain, de Thou examined the manuscripts and set the most interesting ones aside. When he had made his choice, he had five or six barrels emptied of grain and filled them with books. Then, once he had made his preparations for smuggling his stolen goods out of the abbey, he ordered his men to make a great noise and spread the rumour that the enemy was approaching. In the ensuing tumult he stole away from the library with his barrels of books and transported them to Amiens. That, at least, is the story traditionally told in the abbey, as Dom Bonnefons claimed to have heard it from Dom Adrien de Moroeul. De Thou himself, however, gives a different version of these events in his memoirs.<sup>263</sup>

According to one school of thought, de Thou was not the only person responsible for looting the Corbie library, for Claude Dupuy was found to have in his possession various manuscripts from there, of major importance for their antiquity, including a copy of Livy's *History* edited by Abellinus and a ninth-century manuscript of Statius.<sup>264</sup> In the collection which the church of Paris ceded to Louis XV in 1756, two of the oldest manuscripts came from the Corbie library: one containing works by Gregory of Tours and one with the *Life of Saint Wandrille* written in an uncial script.<sup>265</sup>

Yet in spite of the depredations and thefts of manuscripts from the Corbie library during this period, the Benedictine monks later restored the abbey buildings, including the library, which continued to enjoy great prestige. It was one of the most important repositories of the written word in northern France, as is proved



by a catalogue compiled in 1621.<sup>266</sup> Following the fall of Corbie to the Spanish on 15th August 1636 the library was visited by many of the camp-followers of the victorious Spanish army, mostly Jesuits. No books were stolen by the invaders and no manuscripts were taken out of the country.

When the French recaptured the region a few months later, the Bishop of Chartres, Léonor d'Étampes, proposed that the library's manuscripts should be confiscated to punish the monks for their 'apathy' on the grounds that they had shown insufficient zeal in protecting treasures of such incalculable value. His object in proposing this measure was to acquire the manuscripts to enrich either the king's library or, perhaps, that of Cardinal Richelieu. Whatever his reasons, the library door was sealed; but that did not prevent one of the monks from going in through the window and removing a large number of manuscripts, which he took away in baskets in great secrecy. The sealing of the library was no solution for the members of the Congregation of St. Maur, whose fervent wish it was to have under their jurisdiction one more monastery with a fine library. They therefore appealed to Cardinal Richelieu, setting out the Benedictine monks' right of access to a collection of manuscripts amassed on their own initiative and built up by copying, purchase or bequest over a period of about ten centuries.<sup>267</sup> Their request was that the status of the library should remain unchanged and that the manuscripts should be kept in Corbie Abbey, or alternatively that most of them should remain there while the most valuable ones should be taken to Paris and kept in the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés or the Priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, of which the cardinal was the Commendator or titular abbot.

Cardinal Richelieu ruled in favour of the Benedictines' claims and the fate of the manuscripts in the abbey library was left to the decision of the Procurator General of the Congregation, who decided that the rarest ones should be deposited in the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés for protection from the hazards of war. On 28th October 1638 Mathieu Molé wrote to Dupuy to tell him that the process of



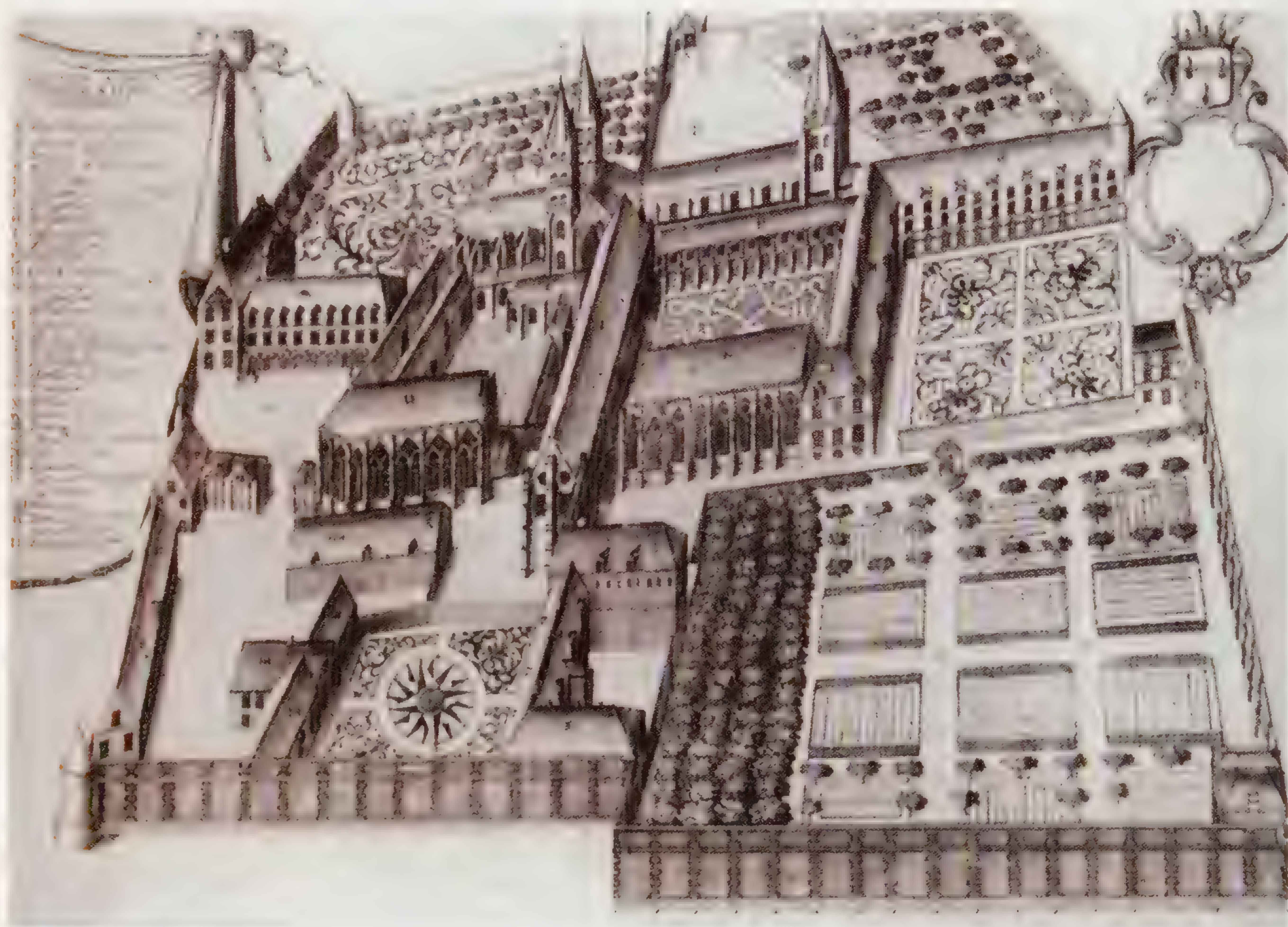
33. Bernard de Montfaucon. Engraving by Benoît Audran le Jeune, 18th c. Musée historique de la bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève.

Richelieu's  
role in the  
library's history



transferring the books from Corbie had not yet started; but it is recorded in a catalogue dated the same year that the process of selecting the books to be kept at Corbie was under way. The person entrusted with the delicate task of choosing the books was Dom Jérôme Anselme Le Michel, one of the worthiest members of the Congregation of St. Maur.<sup>268</sup> Without a doubt, the most precious manuscripts from Corbie had found a safe resting-place in Paris by the end of 1638.

The number of manuscripts transferred to Saint-Germain was approximately four hundred. Although the intention was that they were to be kept there only



34. *Print from the Monasticon Gallicanum, depicting the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris before the Revolution.*

temporarily, it was not long before they were permanently incorporated into the Saint-Germain library. They are listed in a catalogue of that library compiled in 1677, and ever since then the fortunes of those books have been inseparably linked with those of the manuscripts of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>269</sup> Until 1791 no untoward event occurred to disrupt the tranquillity of the library, but in that year some twenty-five of the oldest and most valuable manuscripts that had belonged to the



Corbie library were stolen. Most of them found their way into Peter Dubrowski's collection and from there into the St. Petersburg library, where they are still are today.<sup>270</sup> The fire that destroyed part of the Saint-Germain library in August 1794 did not affect the books that had remained at Corbie, and so in the following year (1795) a start was made on transferring the 375 manuscripts from Corbie to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, where they are still are today.

Let us return to the books that were kept at Corbie. After the intervention of the officers of the Congregation of St. Maur, a new inventory was prepared in 1638, when the manuscripts were found to number about three hundred. Another catalogue was compiled in 1662, but it made no distinction between manuscript and printed books. Over a hundred years later, Dom Grenier set out to draw up a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés, with copious notes, but his project was left unfinished when the Revolution broke out and all the monastic libraries were sealed by order of the revolutionaries.<sup>271</sup> The Corbie manuscripts were then moved to Amiens, probably in 1791, and two years later, when they were inspected for a check on their condition, it was found that they were all present and correct. For years the books from Corbie were left to gather dust, and it was not until about 1828 that the codices were rebound, restored and catalogued thanks to the disinterested zeal of Monsieur Le Prince. Since then no more of them have disappeared.<sup>272</sup>

Such is the history of the Corbie Abbey library, one of the most historic libraries in France in the Middle Ages, which was thoroughly typical of most of the libraries founded during the Carolingian period throughout the Western Christian world. Persons and things succeed one another in every monastic library, but the philosophy underlying the library's organization, enlargement, maintenance and preservation varies little from one monastery to another, or indeed between the West and the East.

**A Renaissance-style literary scholar and book-collector: Lupus of Ferrières.** The most noteworthy scholar of the ninth century, at least as far as his literary interests are concerned, was Lupus of Ferrières. For a summing-up of his approach to work one need look no further than his motto: wisdom ought to be sought for its own sake.<sup>273</sup>

Lupus was born in 805 at Ferrières and was educated there before going on to Fulda for further studies with the greatest teacher of his day after Alcuin, namely Hrabanus Maurus. He went back to his birthplace in 836 and was Abbot of Ferrières from 842 until his death in 862.<sup>274</sup>



His interest in book-collecting and literary studies is apparent from his letters, which take us many centuries back in time because in many respects they are reminiscent of Cicero's correspondence with Atticus.<sup>275</sup> When Lupus took over as Abbot of Ferrières he made systematic efforts to enlarge its library, which was not renowned for its collection, by sending out written appeals to other monasteries, men of letters, book-collectors, dignitaries and the Pope himself, declaring himself willing to buy manuscripts from them at any price.<sup>276</sup> What is more, he specifically stated that he was prepared to buy further copies of works he already had, to satisfy his literary interests.

The high standard of Lupus's literary scholarship is evident from the manuscripts in his own collection and the abbey library: some of them are written in his own hand, while others have corrections, marginal notes and other critical marks written by him. These manuscripts contain works by Valerius Maximus, Cicero (speeches and philosophical works), Macrobius, Symmachus, Tiberius Claudius Donatus (on Virgil), Jerome (*Chronicle*), Augustine and Aulus Gellius.<sup>277</sup> We also have information about the earliest book that can be associated with him: it is a codex containing *De consolazione philosophiae* and other works by Boethius.<sup>278</sup>

From Fulda, in about 835, he wrote his famous letter to Einhard when the latter had left Charlemagne's court and moved into the Abbey of Seligenstadt.<sup>279</sup> In it he set out to win the confidence of the much older man, whom he admired enormously, with the ultimate objective of being allowed to borrow certain specific books which he knew Einhard possessed from having seen the inventory of his library. In this letter the young Lupus asks for three books: Cicero's *De oratore*,<sup>280</sup> books with commentaries on the great Roman orator, and *Noctes Atticae* by Aulus Gellius. It appears that Einhard responded favourably, at least in the case of *Noctes Atticae*, as Lupus apologizes in a later letter for keeping the book so long before returning it,<sup>281</sup> explaining that Maurus also wanted a copy of the Gellius for the Fulda library.<sup>282</sup>

Lupus went back to France in 840 to take over as abbot of Ferrières, and from that time on he cultivated close relations with the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours.<sup>283</sup> It seems that he did not limit himself to his own interests of textual scholarship and research into books: most probably he set up a scriptorium in the abbey, copying manuscripts to enrich its library and the private collections of friends of his. This hypothesis is supported by an epigram he himself composed:<sup>284</sup>

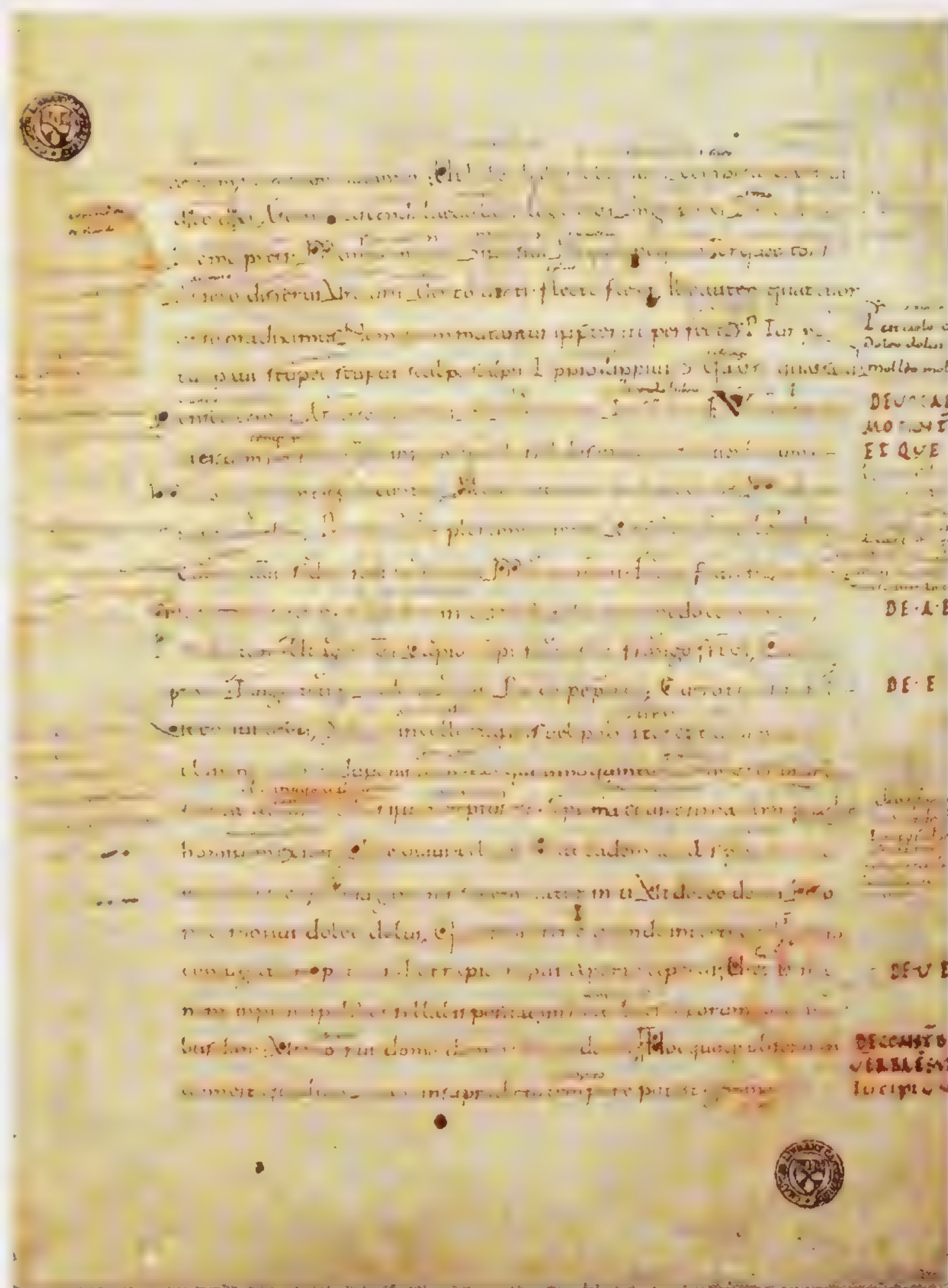
*Hanc Lupus struxit criptam scriptoribus aptam,  
Hic certus nusquam quod locus esset eis.*



*Lupus made this crypt, a suitable place for scribes,  
because there was no place for them here.*

The strength of the impact made by Lupus's personality is apparent not only from his work as a teacher but also from the high standard reached by his pupils. One of the most noteworthy of those was Heiricus (Eric) of Auxerre, who assisted his teacher in his work of textual scholarship and other bookish studies.<sup>285</sup> Heiricus published a selection of excerpts from Valerius Maximus and Suetonius, writing out the passages from Lupus's dictation.<sup>286</sup> He was also the first person to make use of excerpts from Petronius;<sup>287</sup> and in the course of his efforts preserve at least some extracts from rare writings he compiled a volume containing Julius Paris's epitome of Valerius Maximus, the *Geography* of Pomponius Mela and other texts.<sup>288</sup>

In this way he more or less continued his teacher's work in all his fields of activity, not only as a textual scholar and book-collector but also as an educator: he himself was a teacher, with pupils who included Hucbald of Reims<sup>289</sup> and Remigius (Remi) of Auxerre.<sup>290</sup> Alcuin's and Charlemagne's great ideas of raising the standard of education had fallen on fertile ground, considering that Alcuin was the teacher of Hrabanus Maurus, who in turn taught Lupus, who imparted his learning to Heiricus, who carried on weaving the same educational web.



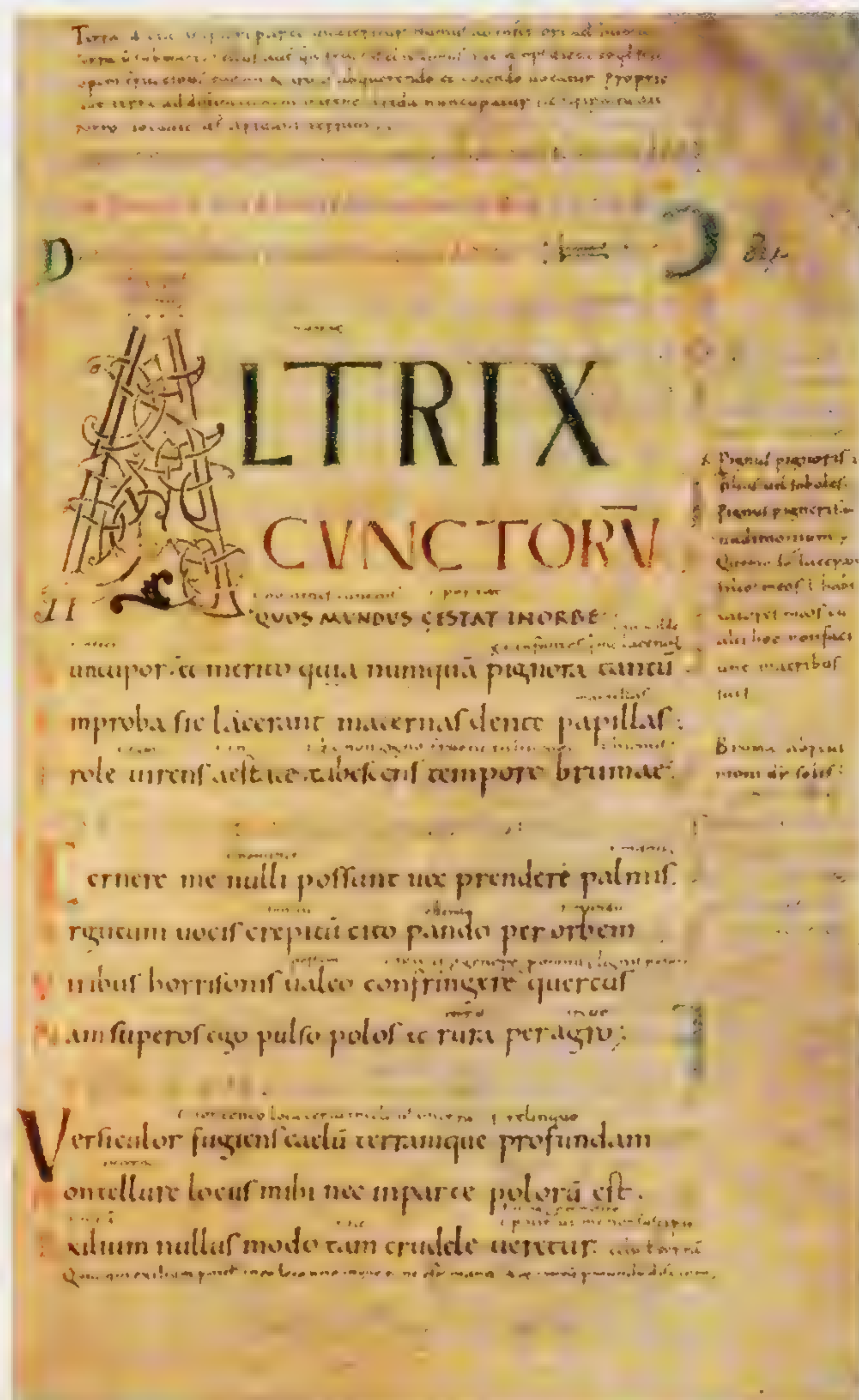
35. Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*. Manuscript copied probably in northern France in the ninth or tenth century. Canterbury Cathedral (Add. 127/19, fo. 1r).



**The revival of grammar teaching.** The extant medieval grammar books, mostly from Charlemagne's time or later, show us how the standard of education was raised by the reforms which the Emperor effected through Alcuin. It is important to emphasize the part played in teaching by each individual teacher's private library: the same had been true of the books owned by *grammatici* in the Graeco-

Roman period, when there were no prescribed grammar textbooks.<sup>291</sup> The eighth-century manuscripts provide incontrovertible corroboration of this fact.

After the triumph of Christianity, the only people who treated grammar as an educational discipline in its own right, following the pattern set by Varro, were the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons. This is attested by old handbooks such as glossaries, lists of synonyms and spelling primers. The Irish wrote scholarly commentaries on Donatus's grammar, while the Anglo-Saxons followed the Roman tradition closely and continued studying and teaching prosody.<sup>292</sup> It was from the islands in the north that the grammar books of Roman literature returned to continental Europe, having meanwhile been carried to Ireland and (by a different route) to Great Britain. And by the time this corpus of ancient writings had found its way back to the Continent, it had been expanded by new textbooks written by indigenous teachers<sup>293</sup> such as Bede and Alcuin.



36. Aldhelm, *Riddles*, a book that was very popular in England and was widely used in schools for teaching prosody. Copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the second half of the tenth century. London, British Library (Royal Ms 12. C. xxiii, fo. 84r).

Thanks to Charlemagne, grammar textbooks such as those by Diomedes<sup>294</sup> and Marius Victorinus<sup>295</sup> were rediscovered or came back into circulation. Paul the Deacon's summary of Festus's *Epitome* and Nonius's compilation were added to the many glossaries then available. The strong revival of grammar studies in Charlemagne's reign is strikingly illustrated by the fact that at least three-quarters



of the total corpus of Roman and early medieval grammar books are manuscripts copied during that period.<sup>296</sup> Thirty manuscripts are extant from the late eighth century and the first third of the ninth, providing indications of how various works were gathered together into collections (*Miscellanea*). No collection is exactly the same as any other, as the compilers were primarily concerned to include in their collections as many treatises as possible, and only secondarily interested in the homogeneity of the texts they put together. A typical example of this random method of selection is provided by a Neapolitan codex written at Luxeuil in the early ninth century, which comprises approximately twenty texts including Alcuin's *Ars grammatica*, the *Epistolae* and *Epitomae* of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus and the *Ars Malsachani*.<sup>297</sup>

From about the middle of the ninth century the copying of grammar books gradually became limited to useful school textbooks, such as those by Donatus, Priscian, Alcuin and Smaragdus. The result was that many early books on grammar, such as the *Eclogae grammaticorum* and other Irish commentaries on Donatus, were no longer copied or used in monastic and cathedral schools.<sup>298</sup>

During this period no grammar books had as yet been prescribed as the basic textbooks for grammar lessons, and so it was the grammarians' personal libraries that were most important in the cultivation of this art: in fact it is reasonable to say that the grammarians arranged their teaching programme according to the books they happened to have. A codex which is a good example of this type of compilation, probably written at Monte Cassino in Paul the Deacon's lifetime, contains didactic poems on grammatical themes.<sup>299</sup> Another composite codex of the second half of the ninth century, containing all Priscian's writings with the addition of a glossary of that period, which is extremely enlightening with regard to the way lessons were organized.<sup>300</sup> To help him explain the text being studied, the teacher would make a collection of works by Augustine, Orosius, Isidore of Seville, Bede and even Nonius; and to elucidate points of grammar he would compose sentences incorporating examples and references, so creating a corpus of material entirely his own.

By the middle of the ninth century, however, a more scientific approach to grammar was beginning to be adopted, as is apparent from the copying of specific works that were considered useful and generally accepted as school textbooks, by writers such as Donatus, Phocas, Eutychius, Consentius and Priscian, as well as the rules of grammar by Alcuin, Smaragdus and others.<sup>301</sup>

*The grammarians' role in educational discipline*







## NOTES

### IV

#### The Age of Charlemagne







## NOTES

1. There is a very extensive literature on this period, and more specifically on the cultural background: see J. Boussard, *The Civilization of Charlemagne*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1968; P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish politics and Carolingian poetry*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987; R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; Id., *Charlemagne: The formation of a European identity*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.
2. The *Admonitio generalis*, that famous document of 789, called upon the Church to re-examine the old ecclesiastical rules concerning the standard of Latin required for saying Mass correctly, with the result that the clergy now had to be educated to a suitable level of learning. See E. Magnou-Nortier, «L' "Admonitio generalis": étude critique», *Jornades internacionals d'Estudi sobre el bisbe Feliu d'Urgell*, Urgell-litania, 2000, 195-242 and M. De Jong, *The Penitential State Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, 814-840; and, on the dissemination of the *Admonitio*, H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse* (MGH Hilfsmittel 15), Munich 1995. For the bibliography on libraries in Charlemagne's reign, the palace library and the persons who played a leading part in the educational reforms and the reintroduction of the study of Latin literature, see pp. 144-152 herein.
3. See R. Grégoire, 'Benedetto di Aniane nella riforma monastica carolingia', *Studi medievali* 26 (1985) 573-610.
4. See W. Koehler, *Die Hofschule Karls des Grossen* (*Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 2, Berlin 1958; B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. M. Gorman, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 76 ff.
5. On the script developed in the Carolingian period see S. Prete, *Observations on the history of textual criticism in the medieval and Renaissance periods*, St. Jone's University Press, 1969.
6. See pp. 154 ff.
7. On Alcuin see L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, Ithaca 1959; D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, being part of the Ford Lectures delivered in Oxford in the Hilary Term 1980*, Leiden/Boston 2004.
8. On Alcuin's early years see A. Klein-klausz, *Alcuin*, Paris 1948; *Vita Liudgeri*, I, 1, ed. W. Diekamp, 17.
9. See P. Godman (ed.), *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, Oxford 1982; Bullough, *Alcuin*, 260-286; and, for the proposed reconstruction of the curriculum, M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin, L'introduction à l'histoire des écoles carolingiennes*, Paris 1905, 314-315.
10. Aelbert came back to York with books he had bought in Rome or other places he had passed through on his way home: see Alcuin, *Versus de sanctis Eub. Eccl.*, 1431-1448; Roger, *L'enseignement*, op. cit., 315. On Alcuin's library see p. 145 herein.
11. Alcuin did not settle at the imperial court



until 786. On the education of the monks at Saint-Loup, see *Vita Winebaudi*, *Acta*, april, I, 573.

12. The basic grammar textbooks that Alcuin relied on in his proposed educational system were the same ones that had been used in earlier schools, at least for the first few decades before the books by the Irish grammarians Sedulius Scotus, Johannes Scotus Erigena and Martin of Laon came into use: see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 107. See also p. 208 herein. There is no record of the educational library used by Alcuin in the imperial court, so one can only attempt to reconstruct it by inference. Poetry in the court was modelled on long-forgotten works such as the *Eclogues* of Nemesianus and Calpurnius Siculus, the *Cynegeticon* of Grattius, the *Silvae* of Statius and epigrams by Martial. Among the names listed in a catalogue of Latin authors are Lucan, Statius, Terence, Juvenal, Tibullus, Horace, Claudian and Martial, as well as speeches by Cicero and works by Sallust. See F. Brunhölzl, 'Der Bildungsauftrag der Hofschule', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben II, Das geistige Leben*, Düsseldorf 1965, 30, 40; F. Stella, *La poesia carolingia*, Florence 1995.
13. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 60-61.

Mention should be made here of the earliest surviving manuscript containing dedications to Charlemagne: it is the pseudo-Augustinian *Categoriae X Aristotelis*, which takes us to Lyon in the time of Leidrad (798-814). This book reflects the teaching of dialectics that Alcuin introduced into the imperial court, with works by pseudo-Augustine and Boethius. The fact that Leidrad asked for copies of these books to be made for his church is entirely consonant with the general acceptance

of the setting of higher standards for clerical education: see L. Delisle, 'Notice sur un manuscrit de l'église de Lyon du temps de Charlemagne', *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 35/2, (Paris 1898), 83 ff.

14. P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare, VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962, 194-196 and see pp. 170-175 herein.
15. On Lupus of Ferrières see pp. 205-207.
16. The importance of Alcuin's contribution to the perpetuation of the Latin literary tradition is apparent from the range of subjects covered by the scriptorium of St. Martin's in his time: the oldest manuscripts of Latin writers copied there date from the years 796-804 and include one of Livy (Vat. Reg. lat. 762) and part of the commentary on Virgil by Tiberius Claudius Donatus (Lowe 3, 297 = Lowe, E.A. (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 12 vols., Oxford, 1934-1971 [= Lowe 1-12]), et al. The Livy manuscript, the famous Codex Poteanus, is the one that was in the possession of the Corbie library: see generally Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 143.
17. On the court library under Charlemagne and his successors see K. Christ and A. Kern, 'Das Mittelalter', in F. Milkau and G. Leyh, *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* 3/1, Wiesbaden 1953, 336-345; É. Lesne, *Les livres, scriptoria et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France, vol. 4)*, Lille 1938, 446 ff.; J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige I, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 16/1, Stuttgart 1959, 234; Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 56-75.
18. On the question of the continuity and non-continuity of Charlemagne's library



- see L. Falkenstein, 'Der Lateran der Karolingischen Pfalz zu Aachen', *Kölner historische Abhandlungen* 13, Köln/Graz, 1960, 163, where there is a reference to the hypothesis that Charlemagne may have had a private library for his personal use in addition to the court library: see B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des frankischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen* 2, Leipzig 1876, 254.
19. See B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek unter Ludwig dem Frommen', in J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, Oxford 1976, 3-22.
  20. On Hincmar's statement see *Opuscula et epistolae in causa Hincmari Laudunensis*.
  21. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 74.
  22. *Ibid.*, 74.
  23. On the Corbie Abbey library see pp. 187-188; on its catalogue see p. 191.
  24. See B. Bischoff, 'Hadoardus and the Manuscripts of Classical Authors from Corbie', in Sesto Prete (ed.), *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, New York 1961, 48, 53; *Id.*, 'Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie', *MS I*, 55, 59.
  25. See Koehler, *Die Hofschule*, op. cit., 25.
  26. One of the members of this group, which Koehler calls the Vienna Coronation Gospel Group, signed his name 'Demetrios PR<ES>B<YTER>' in gold ink: see W. Koehler, *Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars-Metzer Handschriften, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, 3 vols., Berlin 1960, 51.
  27. *Vita Karoli*, c. 24.
  28. *Vita Karoli*, c. 29.
  29. Alc., *Epist.*, 155 (= *MGH Epp.* 4, p. 250).
  30. Alc., *Epist.*, 309 (= *MGH Epp.* 4, p. 474).
  31. Alc., *Epist.*, 162, 260.
  32. The earliest extant manuscript of Nemesianus was written *circa* 825 at the Abbey of St. Denis (Paris lat. 7561).
  33. See K. Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus*, Munich 1908, 140.
  34. See L. Traube, 'Zur Chorographie des Augustus', *VA* 3, 18; Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, op. cit., 196.
  35. See B.L. Ullmann, 'A List of Classical Manuscripts (in an Eighth-Century Codex) perhaps from Corbie', *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), 31.
  36. See Neff, *Die Gedichte*, op. cit., 124 (= *MGH Epistolae* 4, p. 508).
  37. See D.A. Bullough, 'Roman Books and Carolingian renovatio', *Studies in Church History* 14, 1977, 24, 45; repr. in *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester 1991, 2 and 16-18.
  38. On the *Liber Pontificalis* and the reasons that prompted the Pope to make his gift to the Emperor, see M. Buchner, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des *Liber Pontificalis* und zu seiner Verbreitung im Frankenreiche im ix Jahrhundert: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der karolingischen Hofbibliothek und Hofkapelle', *Römische Quartalschrift* 34 (1926) 141-165; B. Bischoff, 'Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles', *MS I*, 18 ff.
  39. See P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris 1948, 367 ff.
  40. As we have seen, when Charlemagne visited Monte Cassino Abbey he asked for a transcript of the Rule of St. Benedict to be made for him: it is now in the library of St. Gallen Abbey. However, the letter said to have accompanied the new manuscript, signed by Abbot Theodemar, is of dubious authenticity: see the comments by K.



- Hallinger and Maria Wegener in the introduction to their book *Theodemari Abbatis Casinensis epistula ad Karolum regem* (Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, I), Siegburg 1963, 137, 152.
41. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 60.
42. On Alcuin's dedicatory poems see *MGH Poetae* I, 295.
43. On the question whether the extant manuscript (Lowe, 10, 1553) is the original codex copied in the imperial court, see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 61, 65 (n. 45); on Sammonicus and his library see Staikos II, 202.
44. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 61-65.
45. *MGH Poetae* I, 95 ff. (= PL 96, 1103). On Wigbod see M.M. Gorman, 'The Commentary on Genesis Prepared for Charlemagne by Wigbod', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 17 (1982) 173-201.
46. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 61.
47. The Berlin catalogue is described in *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (8.1044); for further particulars of the distinctive features of its script see B. Bischoff's introduction to the anastatic edition entitled: *Sammelhandschrift Diez. B Sant. 66. Grammatici Latini et Catalogus librorum* (Codices selecti phototypice impressi, 42), Graz 1973, 21-23.
48. See p. 188 ff.
49. See p. 148.
50. See *MGH Epistolae* 5, 402; Lesne, *Les livres*, op. cit., 447.
51. P.E. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768-1250*, Munich 1962, 121, 125 (Pl. 20).
52. See Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen*, op. cit., 120, 224 (Pl. 19).
53. This was a manuscript commissioned by Theodulf which was copied by several scribes at his own scriptorium in Orléans: see Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen*, op. cit., 474, 466 (Pl. 1).
54. On Judith see E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches I*, Leipzig 1887<sup>2</sup>, 41; F. von Bezold, 'Kaiserin Judith und ihr Dichter Walahfrid Strabo', *Historische Zeitschrift* 130 (1924), 377 ff.
55. See Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen*, op. cit., 121, 226 (Pl. 21).
56. On Gerward see H. Löwe, 'Studien zu den *Annales Xantenses*', *Deutsches Archiv* 8 (1950), 88 ff.; Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, op. cit., 66, giving the names of the teachers in the court school.
57. It has been asserted that many of the books in the Lateran Library came from the dissolution of the Vivarium (see p. 82) and that they were copied and recopied repeatedly, thus giving Pope Gregory an opportunity to put his generous book policy into practice by sending manuscripts and whole collections of books far and wide, to all who needed them: to Augustine setting out on his mission to England (see pp. 109, 114) and to bishops, abbots, kings and ordinary laymen. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 218; p. 67 herein.
58. Mansi, X, 1186, (= SRM, V, 452). The Pope's remark came in his reply to a request from St. Amand for books to be sent to Gaul: *Nam codices jam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca et unde ei dare nullatenus habuimus*.
59. SRM, II, 458 (*Vita Geretrudis*).
60. See p. 167.
61. See p. 145.
62. MHG, AA, XIV, 288. Apparently the bishop's agent had difficulty in finding the manuscript because of the large number of books kept in the *scrinium*; see Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 400).



63. See Bede, *Vita beatorum Abbatum Benedicti*, 6, 369.
64. MGH, *Epist.* 529, *Carol.*, 529.
65. Boniface, *Epist.*, 34 (= MGH, *Epist.*, III, 285).
66. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
67. See C. Scherer, *Die Codices Bonifatiani, Festgabe zum Bonifatius Jubiläum*, Fulda 1905, 6-12.
68. See Lowe, 2, 251. The *Codex Laudianus* was Bede's bilingual (Greek and Latin) copy of the Acts of the Apostles, which Bede read with the help of a glossary he found in the library: see M.L.W. Laistner, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in A.H. Thomson (ed), *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the twelfth centenary of his death*, Oxford 1935, 257. On the glossary, which is still extant, see L. Delaruelle, «Dictionnaire grec-latin de Crastone», *Studi di Filologia classica*, n.s., VIII, 1, 1931, 228.
69. See *Vita Liudgeri*, I, 12, ed. W. Diekamp, 17.
70. See *Gesta*, 12, 2; J. Fontaine, 'La culture carolingienne dans les abbayes normandes: l'exemple de Saint-Wandrille', in *Colloque des Abbayes normandes*, Paris, 1982, 23.
71. See *Chronicon Centulense* III, 3, ed. F. Lot, *Chronique de Saint-Riquier*, Paris, 1894, 94.
72. See p. 64.
73. See G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn 1885, 24-29 (Cat. II).
74. MGH *Poetae* 3, 279-294; B.M. Olsen, «Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979), 57-62.
75. See Roger, *L'enseignement*, op. cit., 314-315; Alc., *Epist.*, 121, p. 177, 4.
76. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 143.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*; see also the catalogue of manuscripts copied at Tours in the ninth century, p. 133.
79. Hrabanus (Rhabanus) Magnentius Maurus was renowned for his theological learning and his ability as an educator. He was born at Mainz in about 780 and died in 856 at Winkel, not far away. He entered Fulda Abbey as a novice at an early age and was ordained deacon in 801. The next year he started studying theology at Tours, also taking lessons in the seven liberal arts from Alcuin, who gave him the surname Maurus. On his return to Fulda, probably in 803, he took over the headship of the abbey school and his fame spread rapidly across Europe, with the result that the school became the most celebrated in the Frankish kingdom. In 822 he was elected Abbot of Fulda, raising the abbey's prestige to new heights: it was a centre of both learning and the arts. He built thirty churches and chapels and enriched the abbey church with exquisite mosaics, reliquaries, sumptuous tapestries and, of course, a large number of manuscripts.

In 841 he resigned as abbot and withdrew to Petersburg, where he occupied himself with prayer and writing; but a few years later, in 847, he succeeded Otgar as Archbishop of Mainz. Maurus is recognized as the greatest man of letters of his time, and his writings extend to every level of secular and Christian literature. Among other things, he wrote a large number of grammar books and wrote separate commentaries on every book of the Bible including St. Matthew's Gospel, with explanatory notes based on Western Church Fathers such as Jerome and Au-



- gustine. See generally M. Ott, 'Rabanus (Hrabanus, Rhabanus) Maurus Magnentius', *CE* 617; and, more specifically on his writings: M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Munich 1911-1931, II, 288-302; F.B. Brühnölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, II, *De l'époque carolingienne au milieu du onzième siècle*, tr. H. Rochais. Louvain 1991, 84-98.
80. See P. Lehmann, 'Fuldaer Studien, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften', *Phil.-hist. Klasse* 3 (1925), 48 ff.
81. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 96.
82. Maurus's set of poems entitled *De laude sanctae crucis*.
83. See G.I. Lieftinck, 'Le ms. d'Aulu-Gelle à Leeuwarden exécuté à Fulda en 836', *Bulletino dell'Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, n.s., 1 (1955) 11-17 and Pl. II.
84. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 150.
85. Luxeuil Abbey was founded in 585 and built on the ruins of the Gallo-Roman fort of Luxovium. The abbey was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul and soon grew to be the greatest religious house in Gaul. For a long time it observed both Rules, that of St. Benedict and that of St. Columbanus, until eventually it complied with the Rule imposed by Charlemagne on all monasteries. The abbey school won high renown under Abbot Eustace and his successor Waldebert, and the students who passed through its hands included many young noblemen from all over the Empire, especially Lyon, Strasbourg and Autun. Many of the monks who spent their formative years at Luxeuil went on to found great monasteries elsewhere: Wandrille and Philibert, for example, founded Fontenelle and Jumièges respectively, both in Nor-
- mandy. When the Vandals swept through western Gaul with fire and the sword in 732, they did not spare Luxeuil: they massacred most of the community and carried off its treasures. See R.U. Butler, 'Luxeuil, Abbey', *CE* IX, 467-468. On the script used in the Luxeuil scriptorium see E.A. Lowe, 'The Script of Luxeuil: A Title Vindicated', *Revue bénédictine* 63 (1953) 132-142; L.W. Jones, 'Dom Victor Perrin and Three Manuscripts of Luxeuil', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 23 (1939), 166-181.
86. See Lowe, 'The Script', op. cit., 389-398.
87. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 6.
88. See P. Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil, II: Étude paléographique et liturgique* (Collectanea Biblica Latina, 9), Rome 1953.
89. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 489.
90. Edited by P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I, Munich 1918, 251 ff.
91. One of the books connected with the Reichenau Abbey library was a composite codex of encyclopaedic coverage containing various works by Boethius (*De institutione arithmetica*), the treatise on geometry by pseudo-Boethius, Alcuin's *De dialectica* and *De rhetorica* and Aratus's *Phenomena*, among others (Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche*, op. cit., 250, 17-21). The Reichenau Abbey library had a similar composite codex which is mentioned by Reginbert, the abbey librarian, as one of its new acquisitions: this contained sixteen treatises on history, music, arithmetic, astronomy, rhetoric, dialectics and geography and was therefore a first-rate school textbook (Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche*, op. cit., 258, 20-28).
92. On the history of the library and scriptorium see B. Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel sei-*



- ner Handschriften, Munich 1974, and 2nd edn., *Die Abtei Lorsch*, Munich 1989.
93. See Lowe, 12, 1775, 1776, 1749.
94. See G. Becker, *Catalogi*, 82-120; Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 84. On the script used there in later years see Bischoff, *Lorsch*, op. cit., 35.
95. On Gerward see Bischoff, *Lorsch*, op. cit., 55 ff. and *Die Abtei*, op. cit., 62 ff. See also H. Löwe, 'Studien zu den *Annales Xantenses*', op. cit., 88 ff.; J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, op. cit., 66. Gerward later retired to Gannita, near Nijmegen, and the substantial collection books in his private library probably passed into the ownership of the Lorsch Abbey. Some of the books from his collection are of 'imperial' origin, inasmuch as either they once belonged Charlemagne's library or else they had been in the court library of Louis the Pious: e.g. Lowe, I, 84 = Augustine, *Opuscula*. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 73.
96. Murbach Abbey, in southern Alsace, developed into one of the greatest intellectual and artistic centres in the area. It was founded in 727 by a certain Eberhard, Count of Alsace, and Abbot Pirmin established it as a Benedictine house. Its importance and high prestige were such that Charlemagne himself assumed the honorary title of 'Lay Abbot of Murbach' (*Pastor Murbacensis*) in 782-783: see L.M. Jusselin, *Charte du comte Eberhard pour l'abbaye de Murbach*, *BeCh* XCIX, 1938, 40.
97. See W. Milde, *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert* (Beihefte zum Euphorion, 4), Heidelberg 1968.
98. The manuscript of the *Historia Augusta* may have been the one that Sedulius Scotus found in the Rhine valley area of Alsace and used in the preparation of his *Collectaneum*.
99. See D.O. Hunter-Blair, 'Hersfeld', *CE* VII, 296-297.
100. See H. Bloch, 'A Manuscript of Tacitus' *Agricola* in Monte Cassino about AD 1135', *Classical Philology* 36 (1941) 185-187.
101. Würzburg is mentioned as a bishopric from 741, when St. Burchard was consecrated bishop, and the next year Pope Zachary confirmed his appointment. Between 741 and 743 Burchard built the cathedral, which he connected with another church and a monastery following the Rule of St. Benedict. See J. Lins, 'Würzburg', *CE* XV, 718-720.
102. See E.A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian Manuscript from Würzburg and its probable relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3 (1928) 6 and Pl. I; H. Knaus, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 4/2, Munich 1979, 977 ff.
103. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 96.
104. See B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, Würzburg 1952, 7 ff. and Pl. I (= Lowe, 9, 1401).
105. See *Vita Anselmi abb. Nonantulani* (= *MGH*, 570).
106. We know that the Pavia diocesan school had evolved into a seat of learning, for Paul the Deacon wrote in a letter to the Byzantine Emperor that the seven liberal arts were taught there (Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 461). Liutprand pursued the policy favoured by his father, Ansprand, and was of a philosophical turn of mind even though he could not write: see Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 462.
107. See L. Gulli, 'A proposito della più antica tradizione novalicencia', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXVIII, 1959, 300, where Gulli ar-



- gues for an earlier date for the monastery's foundation.
108. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 449 (= CDL, II, 206, year 767).
  109. See C. Marcora, *L'abbazia benedettina di Civate*, Civate 1947.
  110. See *Catalog. abbatum nonantulanorum II* (= MGH, 571).
  111. On Commodianus (Lowe, 2, 180) and Celsus, whose works were in circulation only in northern Italy (Vat. lat. 5951) see G. Billanovich, 'La trasmissione dei testi nell' Italia nord-occidentale: Milano, Nonantola, Brescia', in *La cultura antica nell' Occidente latino dal VII all' XI secolo. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 22, Spoleto, 1975, 332 ff.
  112. On the form of the script see J. Ruyschaert, 'Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Nonantola' (Studi e testi, 182 bis), 1955, 16.
  113. According to the *Chronicon Farfense*, the foundation of a monastic community at Farfa dates back to the time of Emperor Julian or Gratian. That first monastery was destroyed by the Vandals in 457 and rebuilt in about 681 by Benedictine monks. The *Constructio Monasterii Farfensis*, probably written in 857, relates at length the story of its founder, Thomas de Maurienne, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was instructed to restore the monastery in a vision that appeared to him while he was praying at the Holy Sepulchre. See G. Goyau, 'Farfa, Abbey', *CE V*, 785-786 and M. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy Local Society Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farla, c. 700-900*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
  114. See *Chronicon de Farfa*, ed. Balzani, 1883, 16: 'Lucerius quem... recordationis Thomas'. See also Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 451.
  115. See *Monumenta Novaliciensia Vetustiora*, ed. C. Cipolla, II, Roma 1898-1901, 171.
  116. See E. Hosp, 'Il sermonario di Alano di Farfa', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 50 (1936), 357-383, 51 (1937) 210-240.
  117. The scriptorium of St. Amand and the thematic orientation of its library are known to us thanks to the interests of Abbot Arn (783-821), who subsequently continued his bookish activities as bishop of Salzburg, using scribes from St. Amand and a codex that he took with him when he left the abbey: see B. Bischoff, *Die süidostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, I: *Die bayerischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1974<sup>3</sup>, and II: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1980, 61 ff.
  118. Autun Abbey already had a high reputation by the end of the seventh century, thanks to the personality of Abbot Leodegar or Léger (660-678). Its library possessed numerous manuscripts of Spanish origin which had been brought by refugees fleeing the Arab conquest of Spain and taking refuge in monasteries in France, Italy and Sardinia: see R.P. Robinson, *Manuscripts 27 (s. 29) and 107 (s. 129) of the Municipal Library of Autun* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 16), Rome 1939.
  119. The systematic copying of manuscripts to enrich the library of Chur Abbey, in the region then known as Rhaetia, coincides with the abbacy of Remedius (800-820): see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 38.
  120. Fleury Abbey, founded in the middle of the seventh century, developed strongly as a centre of book production around



- the year 800 under Abbot Theodulf. On the first manuscripts to be copied there see P. Courcelle, *Fragments patristiques de Fleury-sur-Loire*, *Mélanges Grat*, Paris, II, 1956, 145.
121. The library of Lyon Cathedral possessed numerous early manuscripts of biblical, patristic and legal writings. Especially notable in Charlemagne's reign was the activity of Leidrad (798-814), under whom the scriptorium copied a large number of manuscripts for the cathedral library, with the result that Lyon was recognized once again as a leading centre of learning: see Lowe, 6, XIII-XIV; S. Tafel, 'The Lyons Scriptorium', *PL*, 4 (1925).
  122. Most of the extant manuscripts from southern Germany come from the dioceses of Freising, Regensburg and Salzburg and from various abbeys: see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 40.
  123. Close contact was maintained between the Abbey of St. Emmeran at Regensburg and the dioceses of Freising and Salzburg, especially in the 770s: see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 40-41.
  124. It has been established beyond doubt that manuscripts started being copied systematically in the 780s in the school and the cathedral abbey of St. Peter. In the course of this copying activity several of the abbots – including Arn (formerly the abbot of St. Amand, as already mentioned) – built up sizable libraries of their own: see K. Forstner, *Die Karolingischen Handschriften und Fragmente in den Salzburger Bibliotheken*, Salzburg 1962.
  125. See H. Wartmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen (ca. 700-1463)*, 6 vols., Zurich/St. Gall, 1863-1955; J. Duft, A. Gössi and W. Vogler, *Die Abtei St. Gallen. Abriss der Geschichte, Kurzbiographien der Äbte. Das stiftsanktgallische Offizialat*, St. Gall 1986; W. Vogler, 'Historical Sketch of the Abbey of St. Gall' in *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall. An Overview*, ed. J.C. King and W. Vogler, Stuttgart/Zurich, Belser Verlag, 1991, 9-27.
  126. On St. Gallus see J. Duft, *Die Lebensgeschichten der Heiligen Gallus und Otmar* (Bibliotheca Sangallensis, 9), St. Gall/Sigmaringen 1988.
  127. On the scriptorium see p. 176 ff.
  128. See Vogler, 'Historical Sketch', op. cit., 13.
  129. *Ibid.*
  130. On the scholarly achievements of St. Gallen and the contributions of Notker, Tuotilo, Ratpert and others, see p. 173, 175.
  131. See Ulrich Rösch, *St. Galler Fürstabt und Landesherr. Beiträge zu seinem Wirken und zu Seiner Zeit*, ed. W. Vogler, St. Gall 1987.
  132. See Vogler, 'Historical Sketch', op. cit., 20.
  133. See A. Meier, *Abt Pankraz Vorster und die Aufhebung der Fürstabtei St. Gallen*, Fribourg 1954; W. Vogler, 'Die Fürstabtei St. Gallen und die Französische Revolution', *Rorschacher Neujahrsblatt*, 80 (1990), 91-102.
  134. See G. Meier, 'Geschichte der Schule von St. Gallen im Mittelalter', *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* 10 (1884) 37-127; P. Ochsenbein, 'Teaching and Learning in Gallus Monastery', in *The Culture*, 132-144; P. Riché, 'Les Écoles de Saint-Gall des origines au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Le Rayonnement spirituel et culturel de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall*, Actes publiés sous la direction de C. Heitz – W. Vogler – F. Heber-Suffrin, Université de Paris X, Nanterre, 2000, 37-57.
  135. See Ochsenbein, 'Teaching', op. cit., 136.



136. Latin literature in the Abbey of St. Gallen had its roots in the *Life (Vita)* of its patron saint, as was the case with many other monasteries as well. In about 680 an anonymous monk unknown in any other context, modelling his work on the *Life of St. Columbanus* by Jonas of Bobbio, wrote the *Vita Sancti Galli vetustissima*, in which he recounts the story of Gallus's travels in the area in company with his mentor, Columbanus: see W. Berschin, 'Latin Literature from St. Gall', in *The Culture*, op. cit., 145-156.
137. See Ochsenbein, 'Teaching', op. cit., 137-138; Riché, 'Les Écoles', op. cit., 48.
138. See Ochsenbein, 'Teaching', op. cit., 138-139.
139. On Boethius and his translations see p. 18.
140. See J. Duft, 'Die sieben freien Künste in den frühmittelalterlichen Abteien St. Gallen und Reichenau', in *Protokoll des Konstanzer Arbeitskreises für mittelalterliche Geschichte* 207, Constance 1976.
141. Cod. Sang. 830, pp. 283-309.
142. See J. Leclercq, *Wissenschaft und Gottverlangen. Zur Mönchstheologie des Mittelalters*, Düsseldorf 1963.
143. The *Casus Sancti Galli* was written in about 1040 by Ekkehart IV, who presents a vivid picture of life in St. Gallen Abbey and chronicles the history of the abbey school, the writing that was done there and interesting facts about the personalities of the members of the community. See the edition by H.F. Haefele (in Latin and German), *Casus Sancti Galli – St. Galler Kloster geschichten* (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 10), Darmstadt 1989.
144. Bishop Marcus and his nephew Marcellus (also known as Moengal) visited St.

- Gallen Abbey in about 850 on their way home from a pilgrimage to Rome. What they saw there made them change their minds and decide to go no further. Ekkehart IV describes these travellers thus: 'They had an excellent knowledge of both secular and theological subjects and never went anywhere without their personal collections of books, which were ornaments both to themselves and to the Monastery of St. Gallen.' See also H. Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture*, tr. and annotated by Jane Loring Edwards, The Knickerbocker Press, 1981, 72-73; and esp. J. Duft, 'Irish Monks and Irish Manuscripts in St. Gall', in *The Culture*, op. cit., 119-131.
145. Iso, who came from a noble family in the Thurgen area, was engaged as tutor to Salomon, who intended to become a monk. He proved to be an excellent teacher, with the result that Rudolf of Burgundy invited him to the Abbey of Moutier-Granval in the diocese of Basel. The Abbot of St. Gallen backed Rudolf's wishes and so Iso was seconded to Moutier-Granval, where he stayed for three years until death in 871: see Ekkehard, *Casus*, 32. On Iso see J. Duft, 'Iso monachus doctor nominatissimus', ed. H. Hauzer, in *Churrätisches und St. Gallisches Mittelalter*, Festschrift für O.P. Clavadetscher, Sigmaringen 1984, 126-171; Riché, 'Les Écoles', op. cit., 39.
  146. Notker I is now regarded as the poet of his time and his influence on church music was decisive: his crowning achievement was the invention of the sequence, a lyric to be sung or recited in the Mass. In the introduction to his *Liber Ymnorum*, dedicated to Bishop Liutward of Vercelli circa 883/4, he reveals that he



- managed to connect the frequencies into a rhythmic form with the help of his teacher Iso: see J. Duft, 'Wie Notker zu den Sequenzen kam', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1962) 201-214; W. von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt, Darstellungen – und Editionsband*, Berne 1948 (repr. 1978); J. Duft, 'The Contribution of the Abbey of St. Gall to Sacred Music', in *The Culture*, op. cit., 57 ff.
147. In 884 Ratpert wrote the chronicle entitled *Casus Sancti Galli*, which extends as far as Charle's III visit in 883, the first epoch-making event in the abbey's history. See generally P. Stotz, *Ardua spes mundi, Studien zu lateinischen Gedichten aus St. Gallen*, Berne & Frankfurt/M., 1972; P. Osterwalder, *Das althochdeutsche Galluslied Ratperts und seine lateinischen Übersetzungen durch Ekkehart IV*, Berlin/New York 1982; Berschin, 'Latin Literature', op. cit., 152-153; Duft, 'The Contribution', op. cit., 61 ff.
148. Tuotilo, the third member of the artistic trio, is described by Ekkehart IV as 'a teacher of sculpture and painting on a par with his fellows, but the best of them all in anything to do with stringed and wind instruments': see E.G. Rüschi, *Tuotilo – Mönch und Künstler, Beiträge zur Kenntnis seiner Persönlichkeit*, St. Gall 1953.
149. See Ochsenbein, 'Teaching', op. cit., 135. Ratpert was renowned for his poetical and musical compositions, Latin hymns and prayers which were chanted by the monks of the community, such as *Ardua spes mundi* ('Supernal hope of the world'): see Duft, 'The Contribution', op. cit., 57-58.
150. Greek was seldom taught in Western monasteries and then only sporadically, except in southern Italy and Sicily. However, the presence of the Irish, who studied Greek on their own initiative, further enriched the education of the St. Gallen monks. MS Sang. 904, which comes from Ireland, contains annotations in Greek on a work by Priscian: see A. Ahlquist, 'Notes on the Greek Materials in the St. Gallen Priscian Codex 904', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M.W. Herren, London 1988, 195-214.
- Codex Sang. 902 contains an edition of the *Hermeneumata* of pseudo-Dositheus, a collection of dialogues in Greek and Latin which was used in schools as a model for imitation: see A.C. Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in *The Sacred Nectar*, op. cit., 26-31. The abbey library also contains other manuscripts in the Greek alphabet and bilingual Psalters: see Riché, 'Les Écoles', op. cit., 49.
151. See A. Hobson, *Great Libraries*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993, 27, 31.
152. The surviving manuscript (Sang. 1291), giving the rules for the declension of Greek articles, is dated 1567, but it may have been based on an earlier textbook. It was written by Nicolaus Lindenmann and there is a reproduction of it in P. Ochsenbein and K. Schmuki, *Gelehrte Leut und herrliche Librey*, Verlag am Klosterhof, 1993, 69.
153. Cod. Sang. 48: it contains the four Gospels in Greek with interlinear translation into Latin and was written in about 850 in majuscule and Irish minuscule script, modelled on the circle of Sedulius Scotus's pupils: see S. Berger, 'De la tradition de l'art grec dans les manuscrits



- latins des évangiles', *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 52 (1891), 144-154.
154. See Hobson, *Great Libraries*, op. cit., 31.
155. See S. Sonderegger, 'Notker der Deutsche als Meister einer volkssprachlichen Stilistik', in *Althochdeutsch. Festschrift Rudolf Schutzeichel*, Heidelberg 1987<sup>2</sup>, 1: 839-871; *Id.*, 'German Language and Literature in St. Gall', in *The Culture*, op. cit., 172-178.
156. In the early Middle Ages written German developed slowly from the local dialects of Frankish, Alamannian, Bavarian and Lombard territories into a language in which unity was noticeable by its absence: see S. Sonderegger, *Althochdeutsche Sprache und Literatur. Ein Einführung in des älteste Deutsch*, Berlin/New York 1987<sup>2</sup>. On the way national languages evolved and took shape in the Middle Ages see p. 244 herein.
157. See p. 43.
158. There is in the abbey library a copy of the manuscript Bible copied out by Notker, dating from the eleventh century (Cod. Sang. 21): see *The Culture*, op. cit., 174.
159. See Sonderegger, 'German Language', op. cit., 173.
160. See Ochsenbein, 'Teaching', op. cit., 136.
161. The St. Gallen Monastery Plan was drawn at Reichenau and brought to St. Gallen by two monks in about 825, that is to say during Gozbert's abbacy (816-837) and some ten years before construction work was actually started on the abbey. This unique document is an architectural drawing on parchment showing the ideal monastic community as it was conceived in the early Middle Ages: in other words, it is a suggested 'master plan' for a building complex to be used as a basis from which each monastery could draw up its own specific design. One part of this suggested plan was used in St. Gallen Abbey as it stood in the drawing. See W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall. A Study of the Architecture and Economy of and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols., Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1979; K. Hecht, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan*, Sigmaringen 1983; W. Jacobsen, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le Plan de Saint-Gall', in *Le Rayonnement*, op. cit., 11-17.
162. At least 53 of the monks at St. Gallen in the lifetime of Otmar, the abbey's founder, are known by name.
163. See W. Berschin, 'The Medieval Culture of Penmanship in the Abbey of St. Gall', in *The Culture*, op. cit., 69; and more generally K. Löffler, 'Die Sankt Galler Schreibschule in der 2. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts', *PL*, 6 (1929) 5-66.
164. On Wolfcoz and the Psalter known by his name see C. Eggenberger, «The Art of the Book in St. Gall», *The Culture*, op. cit., 99.
165. This manuscript (Cod. Sang. 914) was copied in 817 from the presumed original then in the library of Monte Cassino Abbey, at the request of Charlemagne himself: see L. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, Munich 1898; also p. 35 herein.
166. Hartmut succeeded Grimaldi as abbot and remained at the helm from 872 to 883. He was himself a fine calligrapher, so much so that his writing was taken as a model by for other other scribes at St. Gallen: see Berschin, 'The Medieval Culture', op. cit., 73.
167. This inventory of the books written in the Irish script is the earliest surviving catalogue of the manuscripts in the St.



- Gallen archives and library, dating from between 884 and 888: it lists thirty titles including two copies of the Old Testament, seven of the New Testament, three works of biblical exegesis and one patristic treatise, as well as two school books dealing with the seven liberal arts and other works: see Cod. Sang. 728, p. 4.
168. Cod. Sang. 728, p. 4 (= *The Culture*, op. cit., 121, fig. 35).
169. Evidence of the scriptorium's resurgence is to be seen in the antiphonaries (Codd. Sang. 390 and 391) and the Epistolary (Cod. Sang. 371), among others.
170. See C. Eggenberger, 'The Art', op. cit., 92-118; and more generally, A. Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom 9. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1923<sup>2</sup>.
171. See Eggenberger, 'The Art', op. cit., 94-95.
172. Cod. Sang. 53; Eggenberger, 'The Art', op. cit., 95.
173. Cod. Sang. 23. See F. Landsberger, *Der St. Galler Folchart-Psalter: Eine Initia-lenstudie*, St. Gall 1912; C. Eggenberger, *Psalterium Folchardi (Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen, Cod. 23)*, Munich 1989; *Id.*, 'The Art', op. cit., 100-106.
174. See Eggenberger, 'The Art', op. cit., 94.
175. See the relationship of the *Psalter* with the cod. *Rossanensis* of the 6th century.
176. See Eggenberger, 'The Art', op. cit., 105.
177. See *The Culture*, op. cit., 88-89 (Pls. 16-17).
178. See J. Duft, 'Der Schlüssel zu den Miniaturen des Goldenen Psalters in St. Gallen', *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 20 (1969), 90-100; C. Eggenberger, *Psalterium aureum Sancti Galli. Mittelalterliche Psalterillustration im Kloster St. Gallen*, Sigmaringen 1987; *Id.*, 'The Art', op. cit., 106-112.
179. See Eggenberger, 'The Art', op. cit., 90 (Pls. 18-19), 107 (fig. 29), 109 (fig. 30), 110 (fig. 31).
180. See p. 173.
181. See p. 173.
182. See Hobson, *Great Libraries*, op. cit., 26-27.
183. Hartmut, who came from a conventional family, studied at Fulda and was a close friend of Otfried of Weissenburg. He was elected abbot in 872 and resigned eleven years later with the king's consent. In addition to his other abilities, he applied himself with great energy to the task of securing the abbey's estates and obtaining new properties. See Vogler, 'Historical Sketch', op. cit., 14-15; and, more generally, see p. 180 herein.
184. See pp. 168-169; also Duft, 'The Irish Monks', op. cit., 120.
185. See p. 176.
186. See Berschin, 'Latin Literature', op. cit., 145, 148.
187. See Duft, 'The Irish Monks', op. cit., 125.
188. Berschin, 'Latin Literature', op. cit., 145. Jonas of Bobbio (or perhaps Susa) was renowned for the biographies of saints and bishops that he wrote between 640 and 643, especially his *Life of St. Columbanus*: see N.A. Weber, 'Jonas of Bobbio', *CE* VIII, 498-499.
189. While the Council of Constance was in progress Poggio Bracciolini and his two friends, Cincius de Rusticis and Bartholomeus de Montepolitano, went on several book-centred trips to abbeys within reach, including Fulda, Cluny and St. Gallen, which they visited between June and July of 1416. Most of the particulars of these visits are drawn from a letter written by Francesco Barbaro in July 1417.
190. Most of the known facts concerning the



- life, work and correspondence of Cincius were gathered by L. Bertalot, 'Cincius Romanus und seine Briefe', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* XXI, Rome (1929-1930), 209-255.
191. The three friends copied many of the works of Latin literature which they found in the library of St. Gallen Abbey. Others they purloined and took back with them to Italy, including a codex containing the *Punica* of Silius Italicus. The three book-hunters discovered a complete manuscript of the Quintilian, Asconius's commentaries on five of Cicero's speeches and a manuscript of four books of the *Argonautica* by Valerius Flaccus: see R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, reissued by I. Garin, Florence 1967. See generally *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, translated from the Latin and annotated by P.W.G. Gordan, New York, Columbia University Press, 1991<sup>2</sup>.
192. See Vogler, 'Historical Sketch', *op. cit.*, 20.
193. The history of the library's foundation, operation and growth, and of its tribulations and eventual fate, has been written by L. Delisle in his paper 'Recherches sur l'ancienne bibliothèque de Corbie', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 24 (1862), 266-342. See Olga Dobiasz-Roždestvenskaia, *Histoire de l'atelier graphique de Corbie de 651 à 830 reflétée dans les manuscrits de Leningrad*, Leningrad 1934; Ursula Winter, *Die mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge aus Corbie. Kommentierte Edition und bibliotheks-und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (doctoral dissertation), Berlin 1972; Chr. de Mérindol, *La production des livres peints à l'abbaye de Corbie au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Étude historique et archéologique*, vol. 3, Lille 1976.
194. When Abbot Grimo († 748) returned to Corbie from a journey to Rome in 741, he brought back with him a number of manuscripts which he had bought on the Roman market: see Dobiasz-Roždestvenskaia, *Histoire de l'atelier graphique de Corbie*, *op. cit.*, 51.
195. See p. 195 in connection with the *Liber glossarum*.
196. See p. 196.
197. See J. Trithème, *Bibliotheca Patrum*, XVI, 277-380 (Paris 1644).
198. See Asser, *Vita Alfredi*, ed. D. Bouquet, VIII, 99.
199. It is not unlikely that some members of the Corbie community were monks who had fled there with their books when their own monasteries were threatened or destroyed by the Norsemen in about 800.
200. See B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, 73.
201. This catalogue was published in *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (= Lowe 8, 1044). It was discovered in Italy in 1300 and belonged to Johannes Victor de Feltre in the fifteenth century. Later it came into the possession of the library of San Faustino Abbey, Brescia.
202. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, 69, 71-72 (on the catalogue).
203. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
204. See B.L. Ullmann, 'A List of Classical Manuscripts', *op. cit.*, 24-37 and Pl. 8; Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, 69.
205. See Lowe 6, XXIII, and 841.
206. See B. Bischoff, 'Hadoardus and the Manuscripts', *op. cit.*, 48, 53; *Id.*, 'Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie', *op. cit.*, 55, 59.



207. See Lowe 6, XXIV.
208. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 95.
209. See p. 148.
210. On Paschase Radbert see pp. 195-196.
211. See P.L. Schmidt, 'Die Überlieferung von Ciceros Schrift "De legibus" in Mittelalter und Renaissance' (Studia et testimonia antiqua, 10), Munich 1974, 121-134.
212. See Schmidt, 'Die Überlieferung', op. cit., 134-152.
213. This catalogue fragment is now in the Vatican Museum (no. 520). It used to be in the archives of the Queen of Sweden and has been published by B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 1739, I, 18.
214. See *Catalogus mss. Codicum collegii Claromontani*, 268; Delisle, 'Recherches', op. cit., 268. This catalogue used to be in the collection of Thomas Phillips: see *Catalogus Librorum mss. in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillips*, 21, (no. 1865).
215. One of the first owners of this catalogue was probably personally acquainted with its compiler. At all events, this document accompanied a codex of Zacharias of Chrysopolis that was illegally acquired by A. Duchesne: see a note published by M. Garnier in his *Catalogue des manuscrits d'Amiens*, 67.
216. This catalogue is discussed in Delisle, 'Recherches', op. cit., 325-338.
217. On the peculiarities and the history of some of these codices see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 29.
218. This manuscript of Servius is the oldest copy now in existence, having been written circa 800: see *Servii Grammatici in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii. Codex Leidensis B.P.L.* 52.
219. This manuscript of Livy which was eventually acquired by the Corbie library had been discovered at Avellino in the fifth century and was probably one of those bought by manuscript hunters after Charlemagne himself had made his wishes known following his visit to Rome and Ravenna. According to Bischoff, the Emperor had promulgated a letter (*sententia*) appealing to his subjects to send him valuable books 'from many lands' (*multis terris*): see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 61, 141.
220. This codex was in the Saint-Germain library with the rest of the manuscripts from Corbie until the early years of the Revolution, when it was removed (with other manuscripts) to St. Petersburg: see Delisle, 'Recherches', op. cit., 275.
221. See Delisle, 'Recherches', op. cit., 275. The *Liber glossarum* was an important teaching aid in the Middle Ages: it contained passages from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and other grammatical, patristic and medical writings, arranged in alphabetical order. It was compiled during the abbacy of Adelard (780-814 and 821-826) and soon established itself as a standard work of reference. See W.M. Lindsay – J.F. Mountford (ed.), *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, 1, Paris 1926. This book is presumably to be associated with the educational reforms imposed on monastery and cathedral schools by Charlemagne himself.
222. On Plato's *Timaeus* in the Middle Ages and Boethius's translation, see p. 17 and relating to the translation by Aristippus of dialogues of Plato, see Staikos III, 293.
223. See Delisle, 'Recherches', op. cit., 280-281.
224. The latter work was copied at the request of Pierron de Besons, a priest at Corbie who was in charge of the abbey school: see *Description des manuscrits français*



- du moyen âge de la bibliothèque de Copenhague*, ed. N.C.L. Abrahams, Copenhagen 1844, 107-109.
225. That particular *Psalter* may have originated not in the abbey library but in some other scriptorium that maintained close relations with Corbie: see Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 276-277.
226. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 278.
227. *Ibid.*, 277-293.
228. Saint-Germain. Cod. Lat. 684, 2 (= Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 278).
229. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 288; on the script in use in the Corbie scriptorium during the abbacy of Leutcharius see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, 17.
230. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 279-280. On the manuscript of Livy see p. 67 herein.
231. See generally W.M. Lindsay and J.F. Mountford, *Glossaria Latina*, *op. cit.*, 8.
232. See p. 194.
233. This is the codex mistakenly listed as having been copied in the scriptorium of Saint-Riquier Abbey in Charlemagne's reign, that is during the years when Angilbertus was Abbot of Corbie (789-814): see S. Berger, 'Les reliques de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 1 (1893) 467; see also G.L. Micheli, *L'Enluminure du haut moyen âge et les influences irlandaises*, Brussels 1939, Pls. 117-121; P.E. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen*, *op. cit.*, 121 and Pl. 20.
234. *Ibid.*, 285.
235. *Ibid.*, 290.
236. *Ibid.*, 285.
237. *Ibid.*, 281-282.
238. *Ibid.*, 282-283.
239. *Ibid.*, 286-287.
240. *Ibid.*, 288-290.
241. *Ibid.*, 292-293. Another codex in the Corbie library contains a similar note: ... *Sed tu, lector qui legis, ora pro scriptore, si Deum habeas adiutorem et protectorem. Tres digiti scribunt, sed totum corpus laborat. Sicut naviganti dulcis est portus, ita scriptori novissimus versus. Deo gratias. Amen, amen. Fiat, fiat.*
242. On the duties and titles of librarians in the Middle Ages see p. 361 ff. On the work of Ratbertus and Ratramnus see J.-P. Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie. Histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales*, Paris 1967, 95-97, 137-138.
243. See p. 191.
244. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 281.
245. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 296-298. The letter from Pope Alexander III is published by Delisle in his article: 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 324.
246. *Ibid.*, 293-311.
247. See the preface to the *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, X, Paris 1644, 503.
248. See p. 188; see also Olga Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia, 'La main de Paul Diacre sur un codex du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle envoyé a Adalhard', *Memorie storiche forogiulesi* 25 (1929), 129-143.
249. An outstanding example of a churchman attempting to reconcile himself to the Latin literary tradition, as we have seen was Abbot Wibald (1097/8-1158) of Corvey, who was also Abbot of Monte Cassino. On his initiative a large-format codex was compiled containing all of Cicero's works that he could find. Wibald told Rainald of Dassel, later Archbishop of Cologne, about his intention of making this super-codex, and in his reply Rainald assured Wibald that he considered him to be both a Christian and a Ci-



ceronian, doubtless alluding to Jerome's dream (see p. 26). Wibald responded by justifying his project: Nec uero, ut cetera omittamus..., *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, I, Berlin 1864, 326-327).

This codex also has pictorial symbolism with regard to Wibald's position: the patron saints of Corvey, SS. Vitus, Stephen and Justin, are depicted on the dedication page and a churchman, probably Wibald, is shown presenting the book to them. At the foot of the scene is Cicero, clad in a toga and seated on a throne with a secretary beside him: see A. Ludorff, *Die Bau-und Kunstdenkmäler von Westfalen: Kreis Höxter*, Münster 1914, Pl. 45.

250. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 294-295.

251. *Ibid.*, 295.

252. *Ibid.*, 298.

253. *Ibid.*, 299.

254. *Ibid.*

255. The changes taking place in the organization of scholarly life and the centres of learning in France from the thirteenth century onwards had a profound effect on many monasteries. Their monopoly of the guardianship and dissemination of knowledge was eroded not only by the first university-type centres of learning but also by the appearance on the scene of the mendicant orders, which soon established their own schools. For more on this subject see p. 280 ff.

256. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 300. This monk is known chiefly for the fact that he was editor-in-chief of the Corbie *Cartulaire noir* in 1259.

257. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 301.

258. The services rendered to Corbie Abbey by Étienne de Conty are recorded in Cod.

St. Ger. Lat. 160, fo. 285v; see Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 301-306.

259. *Ibid.*, 303.

260. J.A. de Thou (1553-1617) was the greatest collector out of all that family of bibliophiles: see H. Harisse, *Le Président de Thou et ses descendants*, Paris 1905.

261. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 311-312.

262. B. Cocquelin, 'Historiae regalis abbatiae Corbeiensis compendium', ed. M. Garnier, *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, VIII, 401.

Among other things, the Corbie monks accused Duchesne of taking an old register from the library, perhaps the catalogue mentioned above see p. 202).

263. This is the version, as told to him by the monks, given by Dom Bonnefons in his *Monastica Corbcensis historia* (no. 26 in the Corbie archives), I, 84.

264. The collection of the great bibliophile Claude Dupuy was the Curator of the Imperial Library contained manuscripts of suspicious provenance from other monasteries besides Corbie, such as the Abbey of Saint-Victor. Fortunately, however, the Dupuy collection, along with the contents of other great libraries, were eventually acquired by the Imperial Library.

265. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 314.

266. Bibliothèque Impériale, Résidu S.G. 1429, s. 43 (= Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 315).

267. The letter containing their appeal to the book-loving cardinal is published in Delisle, 'Recherches', *op.cit.*, 316-317.

268. Dom Jérôme Anselme Le Michel was born at Bernay in about 1601 and died young, in 1644. His working papers, dispersed among various codices in the Saint-Germain library, attest to the extent of his contribution to the literary tradi-



tion and the breadth of his learning. We are indebted to his diligence and ability for the evaluation and preservation of the contents of the libraries that accepted the reforms introduced by the Congregation of St. Maur. Anselme went to Corbie himself, carefully studied the history of each manuscript and selected every one that he considered might be useful to Luc d'Achery in his work of drawing up the programme of the Congregation (= Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 318).

On the Congregation see J. Vanel, *Les Bénédictins de Saint-Maur*, Paris 1896.

269. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 319.

270. P. Dubrowski, a fanatical collector of works of art, was a secretary at the Russian embassy in Paris.

271. See Delisle, 'Recherches', *op. cit.*, 320.

272. *Ibid.*, 323.

273. Lup., *Epist.*, 1.

274. On Lupus of Ferrières see N.A. Weber, 'Lupus, Servatus, Loup', *CE* IX, 436; D. Ch. Nusbaum, *Lupus of Ferrières: Scholar. Humanist. Monk*, Fordham University 1977.

275. See Staikos II, 77 ff.

276. See L. Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières Correspondance*, Paris 1964<sup>2</sup>; *Id.*, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, tr. G.W. Regenos, The Hague, 1966.

277. On the manuscripts that passed through Lupus's hands in one way or another, see Élisabeth Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières: A propos du ms. Orléans 162 (139) corrigé de sa main', in *Bibliothèques retrouvées: Manuscrits, bibliothèques et bibliophiles du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris 1988, 135-157. Pellegrin lists eleven manuscripts associated with Lupus: Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*; Cicero, *De oratore*;

Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*; Cicero, *Orationes in Verrem, De inventione*; Symmachus; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*; Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, etc.; Jerome, *Eusebii Chronici*; and Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia, Epistula... ad Claudium*, etc.

278. Florence. Pl. 14.15.

279. Published by E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 6, Berlin 1925, 7; see Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières*, *op. cit.*, 2-10; *Id.*, *The Letters*, *op. cit.*, 1-3.

280. The manuscript of Cicero's *De oratore* survives to this day (MS London Harley 2736) and C.H. Beeson published a photoanastatic edition of it: *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic: A study of his autograph copy of Cicero's De oratore*, Cambridge Mass. 1930.

281. See Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 6, Berlin 1925, 15; see Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières*, *op. cit.*, 50; *Id.*, *The Letters*, *op. cit.*, 17.

282. The manuscript that was copied for Maurus at Fulda in 836 was discovered at Leeuwarden by G.I. Lieftinck: 'Le ms. d'Aulu-Gelle', *op. cit.*, 11-17 and Pl. II.

283. Manuscripts have come down to us containing emendations in Lupus's handwriting to works by Macrobius, Donatus and Cicero: see Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup', *op. cit.*, 11-13.

284. Paris lat. 7439 (Auxerre?), fo. 249v. This manuscript is associated with Remigius of Auxerre: see Marina Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, Rome 1978, 220.

285. On Heiricus of Auxerre see R. Quadri, *I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre, Spicilegium Friburgense*, II, Freiburg 1966; É. Jeauneau, 'Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot', *L'école Carolingienne d'Auxerre. De Murethach à Remi 830-*



- 908, *Entretiens d'Auxerre* 1989, eds. Dominique Iogna-Prat – Colette Jeudy – Guy Lobrichon, s. *L'Histoire dans l'actualité*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1991, 353-370.
286. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 155.
287. See H. van Thiel, 'Petronius Überlieferung und Rekonstruktion', *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 20, Leiden 1971.
288. Cod. Vat. lat. 4929. See C.W. Barlow, 'Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4929', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 15 (1938), 87-124 and Pls. 11-18; G. Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche', *Aevum* 30 (1956) 320-337.
289. Hucbald (Hugbaldus or Ubaldus) was born in 840 and died in 930 or 932. His birthplace is unknown. Little is known about his life: he entered the Benedictine order as a monk in the Abbey of Saint-Amand-sur-l'Elmon, near Tournai, and embarked on a course of study there which included music. He completed his education at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin. His most important contribution to the arts was his invention of the so-called Daseian system of musical notation, which exerted a definitive influence on the character of church music: see H. Müller, *Hucbalds echte und unechte Schriften über Musik*, Munich 1884; J. Otten, 'Hucbald of St.-Amand', *CE* VII, 510-511.
290. Remigius was probably born in Burgundy and studied under both Lupus and Heiricus of Auxerre. He taught at the Abbey of Saint-Germain at Auxerre, succeeding Heiricus as principal of the abbey school on the latter's death in 883. In 887 he was called to teach at the cathedral school in Reims while Fulco was the archbishop of that city. On Fulco's death in 900, Remigius left Reims for Paris, where he spent the rest of his life. His work as a teacher is notable for his attempts to apply ancient philosophy to the Christian world. Although he devoted time to the study of many and various texts, his commentaries are on the works of Boethius and Martianus Capella. See W. Turner, 'Remigius of Auxerre', *CE* XII, 764; and more generally J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press 1981. See also Colette Jeudy, 'L'oeuvre de Remi d'Auxerre. État de la question', in *L'école Carolingienne d'Auxerre*, op. cit., 373-397.
291. On the private book collections of *grammatici* in the Roman period see Staikos II, 68-72.
292. Many of the grammar books found in manuscripts at Bobbio Abbey may have been sent from there to Ireland: see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 98.
293. Three portions of a composite codex containing writings on grammar, now in the library of the Abbey of St. Paul in Carinthia Stiftsbibliothek 2 I: (25.2.16), were written in England in the eighth century: see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 98.
294. Charlemagne's interest in the works of Diomedes is attested by the initiative of Abbot Adam of Masmünster: see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 98; see also, more generally, R. McKitterick, 'The study of grammar', in *Carolingian Culture: emulation and innovation*, ed. McKitterick, Cambridge 1994; V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*, London, Longman Linguistics Library, 1997.



295. See Bischoff, *Lorsch*, op. cit., 66, 68.  
296. See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 113-114.  
297. See C. Janelli, *Catalogus bibliothecae latinae veteris et classicae manuscriptae, quae in Regio neapolitano, Museo Borbonico adservatur*, Naples 1927, 25; B. Löfstedt, *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, Uppsala 1965, 30.  
298. See Löfstedt, *Der hibernolateinische*, op. cit., 55, 166.

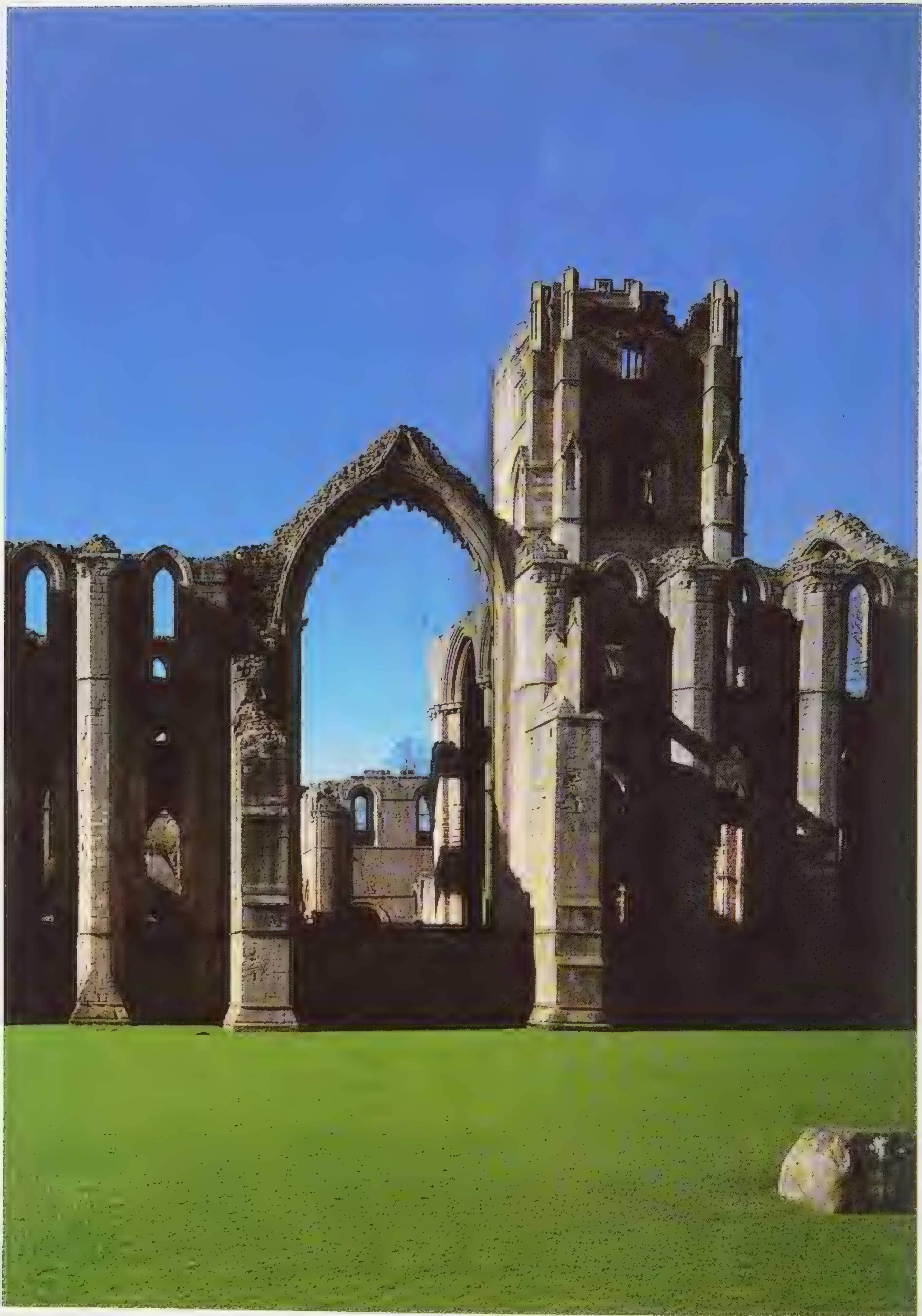
299. See L. Holtz, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 7530 synthèse cassinienne des arts libéraux', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 16 (1975), 97-152.  
300. See E.K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Studies in the Script of Tours, I, Cambridge Mass. 1929, 150.  
301. Such classroom scenes are described by Löfstedt, *Der hibernolateinische*, op. cit., 55 ff., 166 ff.



V

THE IMAGE OF EUROPE  
IN THE  
OTTONIAN PERIOD







## THE IMAGE OF EUROPE IN THE OTTONIAN PERIOD

*Reconstitution of the Monastic Centres,  
Cathedral Libraries,*

*National Languages as starting-point for the New Literature*

**H**istorical background. We have been following the gradual transition of education from private and academic schools to centres organized mainly in bishoprics and monastic centres, from the last decades of the fourth century until the late Carolingian Renaissance, that is the end of the ninth century. We have seen the efforts of the official Catholic Church to impose upon education a discipline based exclusively on sacred texts, without however precisely achieving its goal.<sup>1</sup> At intervals and according to circumstance, the seven liberal arts did not cease to be taught and cultivated up to the end of the eighth century,<sup>2</sup> at which time, by imperial decree, Alcuin of York was called upon to effect an educational reform based on the Roman model, although he himself came from an environment where the educational system had not yet taken on a commonly accepted form, i.e. England.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, however, the entire fund of manuscript books, whether of the ancient literary tradition or Christian literature in its totality, was in the hands of the Church. Books were in the proprietorship of such as had embraced the clerical and monastic life, while grammarians, teachers, intellectuals, writers, copiers and calligraphers, even scholars, derived from exactly the same milieu. There were no secular libraries and the private libraries of nobles and courtiers who had collected codices and other books sooner or later also reverted to the Church.<sup>4</sup> Knowledge, all knowledge, was the exclusive domain of those who chose the Christian monastic life and who served the Church and, by an unwritten rule, they shared this treasure as a common living encyclopaedia, copying, donating, exchanging and lending manuscripts to complement a commonly accepted culture: employing all written material as a step towards better comprehension, consolidation and interpretation of biblical and patristic texts. Latin literature – principally the works

*Knowledge  
in the hands  
of the Church*

1. *The Fountains Abbey ruins near Ripon, a Cistercian monastery founded in 1132 which was one of England's largest abbeys.*



of poetry – was used as the model and the source for drawing material and inspiration for the composition of hymns with an ecclesiastical content, while philosophy was marginalized and not a single Aristotelian or Platonic text is mentioned in the library catalogues (in Boethius's Latin translation), with few exceptional instances.<sup>5</sup>

To move on to the political level and the geographic, even while Charlemagne was still alive, the intentions were manifest of potential invaders of the Mediterranean and Central European regions as well as the coasts of the British Isles. Incursions from Scandinavia and the Orient were to alter the balance of power and the political map, disrupting the peaceful existence of a number of monastic centres, denuding them of considerable quantities of books and unique ecclesiastical wealth, frequently resulting in their utter devastation.

In 793, Scandinavian pirates plundered England's northern shores, pillaging Lindisfarne Abbey and destroying its valuable library. In 810, four years before the death of Charlemagne, Frisia was the target of Danish incursions, but nothing gave the slightest inkling of what was to follow. Louis the Pious succeeded Charlemagne on the imperial throne and, not only neglecting any attempt to reinforce his empire, he moreover divided his dominions into three kingdoms: one for each of his sons. Following his death in 840, after some intermittent glimmers of recovery and short-lived victories of his heirs, the Carolingian dynasty was led to dissolution in 911.

Intensified political turmoil and the redistribution of wealth in the ninth century, mainly from the middle years onward was further burdened by conquerors who came mainly from the Orient. Arabs conquered the Balearic Islands of the Western Mediterranean, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, Crete and finally, in 902, Sicily. In 846 they had pillaged Rome and, having conquered the central Mediterranean's largest port, Bari, where they remained for thirty years, had almost the entire Western Mediterranean under their control. Indeed, raids on the ports of Southern France and other regions resulted in the Frankish Empire losing its access to the Mediterranean Sea by the ninth century.

From the early years of the tenth century, however, everything appears to be changing. The year 911 saw the ending of the Eastern Carolingian Frankish Empire, whose territories were confined to Lorraine. In the same year, the rulers of the five German dukedoms proclaimed a new king, Conrad of Franconia. The top

2. *Miniature depicting Lothair, Charlemagne's grandson, enthroned between two members of the imperial guard, in what is known as the Lothair Gospel. It was done in Tours in the mid-ninth century. Bibliothèque Nationale, (MS Lat. 266, fo. 1v).*







priority for the new sovereign was repossession of royal lands, many of which had devolved to local princes or were the property of monastic centres.

In 936 Otto I ‘the Great’ was crowned emperor, thus reviving the title of and restoring the Holy Roman Empire, which was to last until 1806 when it was abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte.<sup>6</sup>

From the cultural aspect, during the Ottonian period – which some have dared to call the Ottonian Renaissance, although the great humanist Lorenzo Valla referred to it as the Age of Lead – the signs of the impressive scholarly development which was to ensue began to appear. Although the Carolingian culture, which was restricted to the princely courts, the more substantial monasteries and better known church schools was definitely more refined, nonetheless from the tenth century on scholarly horizons broadened, numerous schools were founded, and original authorship began to spread beyond the classical mould.

Gradually, monasteries ceased to be the centre of agricultural and handicraft life, urban centres were transformed, developing into commercial crossroads contributing also to the interdependency of districts. Educational institutions, schools and study centres passed by stages into the hands of teaching staffs whose members were not necessarily ‘dependent’ on the Church. The Latin education was systematized, and the fundamentals of national languages were made available for the development of a literary production full of imagination and vividness.<sup>7</sup> The Church, not unconcerned by these alterations to the urban fabric, developed a dynamic administrative mechanism, at the same time trying to preserve its control over literary expression. It promoted theological thought, with the objective of having the regulating role in arbitrary interpretations as to the nature of godliness, the origins of the universe and other philosophical and cosmological perceptions going against the sacred and patristic texts.

In the light of these developments, libraries too changed ownership, royal and princely collections of books were not abandoned to their fate, passing to their heirs by right of succession. Collegiate libraries were formed, teachers and teaching staff ‘built’ their personal libraries, whilst the universities’ educational programme was favourable to the reproduction of books and, finally, copying centres passed into the hands of lay persons, the nature of higher education now imposing the composition of a personal ‘library / fund of books’ for every student and scholar.

**Trying times for the libraries of the monastic centres.** The crisis convulsing the Carolingian world from the late ninth century and early tenth also had severe repercussions for the refuges of intellectual life, that is, the monasteries. Any



monastery situated close to threatened areas had the choice of either to endure martyrdom on the lines of the *Life* of their patron saint, entrusting their fate to the mercy of the aggressor, or to rescue whatever of greatest value the monastery possessed and take refuge in some other monastic complex. Carrying sacred relics and codices, books for the liturgy and manuscripts dedicated to the life and acts of their founder, monks did their utmost to avert the destruction of their heirlooms. The surest index of this 'emigration' of books is the study of palaeography, according to which such codices of the epoch were pinpointed as having derived from monasteries and scriptoria of the regions that had suffered such vandalism.

It is impossible to know the precise extent of the sacking and destruction of monastic libraries and scriptoria as well as of collections of books of bishoprics and cathedrals that were the outcome of the robberies and invasive incursions striking the North and the South. The library, dating to 635, of Lindisfarne<sup>8</sup> Abbey was totally destroyed and similar losses must have been sustained by the monasteries of Whitby<sup>9</sup> and Hartlepool<sup>10</sup> as well as the school library of Dunwich cathedral further south.<sup>11</sup> Substantial losses in codices and other valuable manuscripts were also recorded in monastic and educational centres in Northern France from Laon<sup>12</sup> to St. Omer,<sup>13</sup> among which were the abbeys and scriptoria such as that of Mont St. Michel;<sup>14</sup> Jumièges;<sup>15</sup> St. Wandrille;<sup>16</sup> Rouen;<sup>17</sup> Amiens;<sup>18</sup> St. Riquier;<sup>19</sup> St. Amand<sup>20</sup> and St. Bertin.<sup>21</sup>

The Arab conquest of almost the entire Iberian Peninsula radically altered the spirit inculcated in the monastic centres by Isidore of Seville.<sup>22</sup> The monasteries and cathedrals of Seville, of the area of Merida (such as Cauliana), with the significant monastery of Agali in the area of Toledo and numerous others, had well stocked libraries, the fate of which in Spain under Arab domination is difficult to estimate.<sup>23</sup> The extensive libraries of monasteries and ecclesiastical centres in Southern Italy suffered similar conditions as they gradually fell into Muslim hands. It was however not only the conquest of Christian territories by Muslims that decimated the written and artistic wealth of Westerners, since when Rome fell to the Normans in 1084 during the papacy of Gregory VII,<sup>24</sup> naught but ashes was left of the Lateran archives and library.

Indicatively, between 878 and the early years of the tenth century, massive movement of manuscripts may be seen from Armorican Brittany to more secure monastic centres: the monks of Saint-Magloire settled in Paris, those from Landévennec in Montreuil-sur-mer and from Redon they are found in Poitiers, while others found refuge in the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire.<sup>25</sup> The silent exodus of manuscripts is testified to by the comments in the old Breton language written on



Latin manuscripts deriving from Armorica. Monks from Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys settled in Déols bringing with them considerable quantities of manuscripts, and the monks of Saint-Vaast from Arras brought their libraries to Beauvais. A typical instance is that of a monk from Jumièges who, in his flight from the violence of the Normans selected the Abbey of St. Gallen as a safe place, bringing an Antiphonary for the initiation of the abbey's denizens.<sup>26</sup>

Once order was restored, abbots and monks who had exiled themselves or been forced to flee returned to their spiritual homes, restored the buildings and reorganized their monastic libraries. Not only neighbouring and brotherly monasteries were of assistance in this move and help was also forthcoming from lay persons, officials and courtiers, even princes: Odon<sup>27</sup> Abbot of Cluny rebuilt the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire in Normandy, and the restoration of the area's monastic centres was undertaken by local nobles, while Guillaume de Volpiano, a man of broad encyclopaedic scholarship, saw to the restocking of libraries at various abbeys<sup>28</sup> such as Fécamp, incorporated in the list of Benedictine abbeys in 1001.<sup>29</sup> In Flanders too, diverse historical abbeys were reinstated such as St. Vaast at Arras, where the abbot, Aldaric (deceased 768), was distinguished for his medical lore and, presumably, for an equivalent library he will have had at disposal.<sup>30</sup> Enguerrand, a pupil of Fulbert de Chartres, as abbot of St. Riquier, reorganized the abbey's library, assigning to the monks the work of replacing the manuscripts that had deteriorated to illegibility, at the same time seeing to renewal of their bindings.<sup>31</sup> Abbot Gervin (1075-1096), finally, bequeathed to the abbey's library his personal collection of codices, numbering 36 volumes.<sup>32</sup>

**Libraries of bishops, princes and monks.** Besides the scriptorium of each monastery and possible purchases of books according to the policy of each abbot, monastic libraries enjoyed an inexhaustible source of enrichment from bequests of personal collections of bishops, abbots and monks occupied in the sphere of education. This tradition does not have a localised or seasonal character, either in the East or the West, since all the libraries of the Christian world were privileged with the benefits of this informal tradition. Similar instances have already been mentioned during the period of the Carolingian Renaissance where, that is to say, in major abbeys such as that of St. Gallen and Corbie<sup>33</sup> the tradition continued and the surviving catalogues and wills from the Ottonian period onward permit even more conclusions to be drawn on the intellectual pursuits of the possessors of these collections.

At the outset of the tenth century, the bishop of Elne, Riculf, bequeathed a por-



tion of his goods and chattels to his church, among which was his library, comprising not only Gospel books and books of all sorts for the liturgy but also the commentary exegeses of Smaragdus and Hrabanus Maurus as well as writings by St. Augustine, legal texts of Roman and Gothic law and a medical book.<sup>34</sup> Bishop Gautier (997-1023)<sup>35</sup> of Autun, an area with a tradition in the cultivation of scholarship from the sixth century Léger (660-678),<sup>36</sup> has given lustre to the history of this bishopric) also owned a splendid personal library which was entrusted to the church treasury after his death, where it is still to be found today. A handwritten note by Gautier on Gregory the Great's codex *Moralia in Job* testifies to the bishop's enriching the monastery library either with copies ordered from scriptoria or with purchases or bequests. The books of his personal library are recorded at the end of this codex, some of which have survived to our day.

A catalogue of books published by Léopold Delisle mentions the donation to the cathedral at Puy of a collection of codices belonging to a certain Nivilelem.<sup>37</sup> This person, about whom little is known, may possibly have been director of the local diocesan school, as most of the 48 volumes he bequeathed contain grammatical and poetic texts: nine copies of Donatus's *Grammar*, four of Priscian's, many manuscripts with grammatical syntax by Phocas, Pompeius and Remi of Auxerre. This school library comprised codices with Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and works by Virgil, Terence and Prudentius. A section of the catalogue demonstrates the more profound interests of this intellectual, such as Latin translations of works on dialectics by Aristotle and Porphyry. It furthermore contains texts relating to music, astronomy and geometry, allowing us to assume that this 'teacher' cultivated and taught the seven liberal arts.

Another path for the acquisition of manuscript material was the common usage of 'grants'. Frequently, monks who left their monasteries temporarily on missionary purposes and pilgrimages stored their books in boxes upon departure, but due to the conditions prevailing in the regions prone to a state of war, such as in the vicinity of Jerusalem, many pilgrims never returned. Their belongings thus passed into the possession of the monasteries, as in the case for example of Abbot Adso of the monastery Montier-en-Der. The instance of this abbot is special, as the catalogue of codices constituting his personal collection, amounting to 23 books, comprises such titles as the *Categories* by Aristotle; Porphyry's *Isagoge*; St. Augustine's *Categories*; Cicero's *Rhetoric*; Servius's *Commentary* on Virgil; two codices with works by Terence; a *Commentary* by an Irish author named Muretach on Donatus; a small book with all the titles of Terence's comedies; diverse glossaries; Martianus Capella's *The Wedding of Philology and Mercury* and more. Of patristic



writings, Adso had but one work by St. Ambrose, certain *Epistles* of St. Paul's such as to the Romans and various others.<sup>38</sup>

It is our good fortune to be provided with the best information on the private libraries of ecclesiastic notables by Gerbert of Aurillac, the most prominent personality in the world of letters of the tenth century.<sup>39</sup> Of humble background, born in about 947 in Aquitaine, he studied Arabic, mathematics and other subjects in Catalonia, before continuing at Reims in courses on dialectics. In 973 he directed a school there, sustained in his teaching work by the comprehensive library constituted by Archbishop Hincmar,<sup>40</sup> which allowed him to include the seven liberal arts in his teaching curriculum. After 987 he left France for Italy, where he was appointed abbot of Bobbio monastery by wish of Otto II, being of course aware of the well stocked library available in this monastic centre. It is thanks to a catalogue of those times that we know that this library had amassed more than 650 codices.<sup>41</sup> Gerbert carefully scrutinized the catalogue, ascertaining that all the patristic works, the Lives of the saints, the canonical texts and grammatical and rhetorical treatises were recorded methodically. He discovered numerous writings by Cicero and Boethius. At the same time he asked his friends in Reims to copy books from Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der's, collection, as well as codices belonging to the libraries of Orbais l'Abbaye and Saint-Basle. On his return to Reims he continued the enrichment of his library<sup>42</sup> in every way and, as he confided in a letter to his friend Evrard, abbot of the monastery of Saint-Julien-de-Tours, paid exorbitantly for the purchase of books from Rome and other areas of Italy, Germany and Belgium.

His correspondence provides information about his interests: he seeks to obtain codices from his friends: those by Symmachus and Suetonius from Deacon Stephanos, Statius's *Achilleid* from the monk Remi de Mettlach and a book with works by Cicero from the abbot of Senones.<sup>43</sup> In 991 Gerbert was consecrated archbishop of Reims, but upon coming into conflict with the Vatican was obliged to give up his seat in 997. He undertook the education of Otto, who anointed him archbishop of Ravenna before he became pope in 999, with the name of Sylvester II. As pope he did not abandon his intellectual pursuits and continued working on diverse writings which he brought with him to the Vatican. After his death, some of his books passed to the library of Otto III,<sup>44</sup> whose successor Henry II donated them to the new cathedral of Bamberg.<sup>45</sup> Among others, these manuscripts comprise works by Johannes Scotus Erigena; St. Augustine; Martianus Capella; Quintilian; Isidore of Seville and the autographic chronicle of Richer de Reims, a pupil and biographer of Gerbert's.





3. 'Grammar' seated among pupils who are holding up written material, from a codex of Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. It was probably written in France in the twelfth c. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, s. Marco, 190 (fo. II, 116).



**The ‘national’ languages and new literature.** One of the most significant innovations introduced by the various social and financial re-dispositions from the tenth century on, which in turn brought about fundamental modifications in the literary, publishing and reading fields of Europe, Continental or not, was the development and establishment of regional languages replacing Latin at practically all levels of social life. The application of Latin had already been standardized from Carolingian days, and formal teaching was still carried out in Latin, with the exception of a few classes. The Romance and Germanic languages, however, were developing in parallel and, albeit Germany did not have the uniform political power to be able to enforce the incorporation of the diverse regional dialects into a linguistic vernacular – which happened much later, i.e. in Lutheran times – this was but the exception to the rule. In the cases of London, Paris and Castile, the basis of communication was established as English, French and Spanish respectively.<sup>46</sup>

English is a synthesis of diverse linguistic idioms of the races competing to impose their predominance in the British Isles such as Celtic, Saxon, Scandinavian, and Norman French. The indigenous Saxon language continued to be used by the populace after 1066, but the lords spoke Norman French. It was not until 1349 that English was established in education and as the current language, and Parliament’s inaugural session was held in that language in 1362.<sup>47</sup>

The two French dialects of the North and South, *langue d’oc* in the South and *langue d’oil* in the North expresses the mixture of the French language with the Celtic and Germanic languages. The *oc* language was closer to Catalan and Italian than was the *oil*, but emigration of Normans to England and the Mediterranean and the crusades against the Albigensians of Southern France contributed to the predominance of the *langue d’oil* as the national language.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, the colloquial speech of Paris and elsewhere was not intelligible to all, even in the early fourteenth century when the popes of Avignon, all originating from Languedoc had difficulty in understanding the language of the Parisian official royal secretariat.

However, French soon made a broader impact, also via creative literature, with the result that Italian was slower to develop, also as a literary language, until the thirteenth century, from when on Italian was swiftly and widely disseminated. Italian was in fact based on a purely Latin vocabulary, with the exception of a few Lombard words, in contrast to Spanish and French that had received also Arabic influence. In the end the base of the Italian language was the Tuscan dialect, mainly due to the popularity of Dante’s *Divine Comedy* of the fourteenth century.<sup>49</sup>



The spread of these five regional languages throughout all social classes inhibited the broader dissemination of Latin since, in about 1300, grass root languages had completely supplanted Latin, also in creative literary expression. Many people now learned to read and write in the vernacular, studying Latin as a second language at school. Development of urban centres, the intellectual and academic life *extra muros* of monasteries, the necessity for the new literature – as well as theology to a certain extent – to be intelligible by the urban strata led to fresh forms of expression, including subjects from the historical and legendary tradition of local societies: books and personal collections passed to new social classes.

**The birth of the new literature.** The new medieval secular literature was born in the courts of the princes or drew material from the deeds and legends surrounding their life and achievements.

In the early Middle Ages, the itinerant troubadours (minstrels), in the courts of the princes sang of ancient heroic legends in return for a free meal. In order in fact to flatter their host, they frequently embellished their songs with their own variations, pleasing to his ear. This oral literature of the vernacular is in the form of epic poetry, romances and lyric poetry. Both the epic poetry (*chansons de geste* – hymns of valour) as well as the romances had their source in real events, referring to the oral tradition, such as for example the Spanish epic *El Cid* ('The Chief') composed *circa* 1140, a generation after the death of the knight Rodrigo Dias de Vivar. However, most of the epic poems and the romances, were passed down orally from mouth to mouth through the centuries, eventually appearing in written form. In contrast to the romances, the epics promote and describe heroic deeds and bloody scenes, whereas in the romances the heroes are presented as being models of virtue, modelled on the class of the nobility, in the manner that each author of the period perceived moral values.<sup>50</sup>

*The troubadours  
at the starting  
point of the  
new literature*

**The epics.** The epics reflect the princes' and nobles' own perception of their persons, elevating the image of heroes as the model for every ordinary individual of the people. These early poems present the nobleman as a ruthless warrior, fearing nothing and surviving the bloodiest of conflicts. There is for instance the epic poem *Raoul de Cambrai*, the story of a hero who, albeit the son of the king of France, is not recognised by the latter, is deprived of his hereditary rights and seeks his destiny together with his servant, placing himself in the service of the emperor of France.<sup>51</sup>







The best known epic is the *Song of Roland*<sup>52</sup> woven along the same lines as *Raoul de Cambrai* as to the psychological relation of the hero with his personal servant. The epic composition is set in the scene of the return of Charlemagne from Spain in 778, when his rearguard was attacked and annihilated. On the basis of this heroic battle the minstrels fashioned a legend which became a written work at the end of the eleventh century: Count Roland, related to Charlemagne and at the head of the rearguard preferred to fall in battle rather than call for reinforcements which would betray weakness.

Epics were later refined and better worked, such as the *Nibelungenlied* dating to 1200.<sup>53</sup> The theme of this epic has as source the years of the Late Roman Empire, referring specifically to the year 436, to the annihilation of the Burgundian army and royal house by the Huns. The innovation consists in the presence of a woman: the appearance of an insignificant Burgundian princess, Kriemhild, involved in machinations behind the scenes.

**The romances.** Although romances are representative of a more elaborate *literature*, with greater pretensions to quality than the epic, they did not escape the distortion of historical reality. The most ancient examples of this literary genre are two anonymous adaptations of the *Thebaid* and *Aeneid*, entitled *Roman de Thèbes* (circa 1150) and *Roman d'Enéas* (1155-1160). The models for these romances were the personalities of Alexander the Great and King Arthur, who were especially popular.<sup>54</sup>

The tradition of the romances of Alexander the Great are more heterogeneous, that is to say deriving from diverse sources, setting out however in the twelfth century with the short excerpts of Albéric de Pisançon (Besançon), written in Poitiers in about 1160-1165 and reflecting the climate of the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>55</sup> This work of fiction became very popular with the title *Roman d'Alexandre*, written by Alexandre de Paris or someone going under that name, in about 1180-1190, comprising the entire foregoing tradition. The contents as well as the verse form were readable to such a degree that the cycle of such composition were given the name of 'alexandrin', still in existence to this day.<sup>56</sup>

The most famous hero was indisputably King Arthur, whom most researchers nowadays identify with Ambrosius Aurelianus, a Celtic chief who was killed fighting the Saxon invasion of the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth cen-

4. Miniature depicting the scene of the capture of Troy, with predominance of the Trojan Horse, illustrating the *Histoire d'Orose*, dating to about 1390-1410. Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms Fr. 301, fo. 147).



turies.<sup>57</sup> The archetype of this legendary king was orally developed in various circles of the courts of Ireland and Wales, subsequently incorporated in their repertory by the minstrels following the Norman armies in Brittany. All romances with Arthur as central theme were in essence part of a cycle of chivalrous material drawn also from the Knights of the Round Table, thus establishing a tradition that found fertile ground at the courts of Continental Europe as well as models for the heroes of chivalrous virtues, which is to say ethics and self-denial, also of Platonic love.<sup>58</sup>

At the end of the twelfth and throughout the thirteenth century, the French literary tradition that was formed on the basis of these values was continued by German poets and, a little later, by Italians. A number of works are not original and are translations from the French, except for some romances of German lyric poetry,



5. Miniature showing a closet filled with copies of Benoît de Ste.-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. It was written in Italy in the early fourteenth c. Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms Fr 782, fo. 2v).

particularly *Parzifal* by Wolfram von Eschenbach (circa 1170-1220).<sup>59</sup> The legend of the Holy Grail also appears, initially in Celtic histories, subsequently transfused into the Christian tradition with Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval*.<sup>60</sup> Later, it was connected to the legends of Joseph of Arimathea, who lowered Christ's body from the cross, and then again refers to the Last Supper.

**Lyric poetry.** In the course of the thirteenth century, all who were literate in the urban centres eagerly perused epics of chivalry and romances, trying to imitate



noble knights and promote ethical values through their own conduct. In this way the first private libraries were constituted, exclusively of this literary genre, many of which were also illustrated. The most representative of this form of writing, finding a greater response from the reading public than any other, indeed until the end of the fifteenth century, is the *Romance of the Rose*.<sup>61</sup> This poem was written by the knight Guillaume de Loris in about 1237, the subject being an allegory of romantic love unfolding in a dream. The dreaming hero serves the god of Love and tries to conquer his lady love who is symbolized by a rose. The poem was unfinished and was completed over a span of about forty years, with a final version given by the cleric Jean de Meun.

**The birth of drama.** Another literary genre forming a reading public within the urban educated environment as well as in the pupil and student circles of diverse schools is dramaturgy. This is not a continuation of the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, instead, the works draw their material from morally uplifting religious plays and disquisitions referring to the ‘miracle’ as that was conceived to be in medieval times. The outset of this dramaturgical composition is the tenth century and is related to the additional dialogue of responses in the Introit of the Easter mass and to the tropes of Christmas, in other words, aphoristic Latin verses responding to questions contained in the divine service.<sup>62</sup> In the eleventh century, acts of plays were presented with a biblical textual content, with the leading roles of Herod and Rachel, at a time when simultaneously students at cathedrals in Northern France were dramatizing material from the Old Testament for performances produced at the ecclesiastical centres. These performances have musical accompaniment such as for instance Jean Bodel’s *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, written to celebrate the saint’s Day in 1200.<sup>63</sup>

**Monastery libraries and libraries of cathedrals in Britain (eleventh and twelfth centuries).** The monastic tradition in book collection as it was formed in the abbeys of Ireland and Wales, the kingdom of Kent and others, as was seen above, was not interrupted and instead continued actively, forerunners of the splendid libraries constituted in the British university colleges, many of which may still be admired today. Library catalogues, archival material, correspondence between bishops and scholars, as well as the books themselves surviving from those days allow us to obtain a better picture in comparison to older times.

The impressive spread of religious and diocesan communities, with the build-



ing of new ecclesiastic centres and the upgrading of the cycle of studies at the diocesan level, principally of schools organized at cathedrals, is of course not a purely British phenomenon, and is observed all over Europe. In England alone, the 61 centres belonging to the Church, such as abbeys, cathedrals and monasteries known to have existed in 1066 reached the number of 400 almost a hundred years later in 1154.<sup>64</sup>

**The testimony of the manuscript.** The books written in England before the Norman Conquest amount to about 890, 640 of which are today still extant in England and 250 in Continental Europe.<sup>65</sup> A summary analysis of their contents demonstrates their religious orientation: Gospels numbered more than seventy five, missals about thirty and psalters about the same. Numerous copies have survived of codices with Paul the Deacon's and Aelfric's *Homilies*, as well as school text books with commentary in Latin and Old English such as: Aldhelm's *De virginitate*; Abbo de St. Germain's *Bella Parisiaca urbis*; Prudentius's *Psychomachia*; Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* and Aelfric's *Grammar*.

Most of these manuscripts were written *ad hoc* in scriptoria of monastic centres or reached these from other sources. The finest of these scriptoria are in abbeys such as Abingdon, Berks; Bury St. Edmunds; Christ Church, Canterbury; St. Augustine's abbey also at Canterbury; Durham Cathedral; Exeter Cathedral; Winchester (Old and New Minster) and Worcester Cathedral.<sup>66</sup> A small number of codices originates from lesser monastic libraries such as those of Crowland, Ely, Gloucester, Hereford, Hexham, Lichfield, Ramsey, Westbury *et al.*<sup>67</sup>

In contrast to the material with which Bede and Alcuin of the York school<sup>68</sup> were gratified, the surviving manuscripts of these libraries do not reflect the education of men of letters of Britain up to the eleventh century. The works of the Church Fathers such as Augustine and St. Jerome are almost non-existent, as are also texts of canon law and texts of theology of the Carolingian era. It is even more rare to find classical texts and astonishing that copies of the works of Horace and Lucan are completely lacking, and that a sole Ovidian manuscript written in Wales has survived to this day. Study of Virgil's poetic works appears to have been entirely neglected, judging also from the fact that very few relative texts have been found.<sup>69</sup> In the tenth century a manuscript was written in Worcester with a commentary in Latin on Virgil, whence derives an annotated codex by Statius (*Thebaid*) and Late Anglo-Saxon copies with comments on Persius and Juvenal.<sup>70</sup>

This testifies to the fact that manuscripts known to or available to Bede were



almost not reproduced at all in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Catalogues of book collections from that epoch surviving today are irrefutable evidence thereof.<sup>71</sup> They are mainly brief records, references to books mentioned in wills or registers of bequests to bishoprics. There is no full library catalogue at our disposal from that period for comparison with equivalent catalogues of major monastic centres of Continental Europe to enable us to have the real picture of the contents of libraries of those times, that is to say from the ninth to eleventh centuries, such as for instance the catalogues preserved in the monastic libraries of Lorsch, Reichenau and Saint Gallen, comprising hundreds of titles arranged in order according to the rules of library science.<sup>72</sup>

The clearest picture of an eleventh century communal library is given by a catalogue of 66 books given to Exeter Cathedral's clerics by Bishop Leofric between 1069 and 1072.<sup>73</sup> The catalogue comes to us in two versions, enabling us to identify some of its codices, principally thanks to the notes made by Leofric in regard to this bequest.

The books constitute two different entities: the first denotes the needs in books of every cleric and the other the encyclopaedic interests of a man of letters. The first comprises codices with chapters from the Scriptures; Epistles; hymns; psalms; collected texts of canonical law; Homilies and other texts, and in the second there is a plethora of Latin writings, containing such as the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great and the authentic Latin text of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*; Porphyry's *Isagoge*; Prudentius's *Psychomachia*; the *Cathemerinon*, *Peristephanon* and Isidore's *Etymologies*. Books are also mentioned with the works of Sedulius, Aratus and Smaragdus (*Diadema monachorum*) and of Statius. Leofric concludes the catalogue with an anathema, the aim being to safeguard his donation from future mishaps: 'and whoever wishes to dismiss God and Saint Peter from these gifts and this donation, may he fall from the kingdom of Heaven and be cursed in eternity'.<sup>74</sup>



6. Scene from Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, depicting Luxury attempting to lead young people astray. A miniature in a codex compiled in Southern England at the end of the tenth century. British Library (Add. Ms 24199, fo. 18r).





7. Engraving showing Ely Cathedral, signed I. Harris, dedicated to the Reverend Thomas Tanner.



Leofric's catalogue, as well as smaller registers of books from that time and also the surviving manuscripts testify that the primary concern of codex collectors, abbots and bishops was to collect books dealing primarily with the conduct of services. A lesser number of manuscripts contained school-teaching treatises and biblical commentaries, in contrast however to Continental Europe, many works in the Anglo-Saxon language or translations of Latin works have been preserved.

**The revival of the study of the patristic texts.** A particularly noteworthy impetus was given to the enrichment of the monastic and diocesan libraries of the British Isles by the reappraisal of the patristic texts, whose study and interpretation, as intended, led to the comprehension of biblical messages. The importance given to their writings also appears in the catalogues of books of the time, in which their names are recorded with library-science specifications: alphabetical order by author and the title. These catalogues mention SS Augustine; Jerome; Ambrose; Gregory the Great and others, defined with the mention 'Libri beati Ieronomi sunt isti.'<sup>75</sup>

From the eleventh century, in parallel with Britain, in Continental Europe too a reversion to the study and reproduction of the patristic texts is seen, an element that also found a place in education. The reinstatement of the familiarization of clerics with such writings also had the support of the reform movement instigated by Guillaume de Hirsau (*circa* 1026-1091) in South-eastern Germany.<sup>76</sup> The activity of writing codices was not restricted solely to the ecclesiastical centres, as a result also of the reforms, and is apparent in broader intellectual circles, since in the framework of theological teaching, issues of dogma and diverging interpretational views had begun to come forth, requiring clear answers. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, a substantial number of books by the Fathers of the Church was amassed in two communities that were not part of a monastic order: Salisbury and Exeter, with other material indispensable for absorbing biblical texts, evidently with the objective of reinforcing the clergy's ecclesiastical education.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, in this climate of intensified demand for books, from the twelfth century diverse ecclesiastical centres that had been influenced also by equivalent schools of Northern France, particularly Paris, were launched into an unprecedented publishing productivity. They proceeded that is to say, to the composition of codices for each book of the Bible, annotated with the appropriate comments based on the *Glossa ordinaria* that had been gathered in the Carolingian period also. The Bible was thus fragmented into commentated volumes called *auctoritates*, of assistance in every way to the needs in theology and in books of textual interpreters and everyone of the faithful.<sup>78</sup>

*The patristic  
texts once  
more in  
the forefront*



The development of the conscious composition of a monastic or other library in Britain dates to the mid-twelfth century, a resultant of numerous and diverse factors relating to school discipline, the study of theology and of ecclesiastic as well as civil law. Men of letters who had studied in Paris or had other higher education stood by the ecclesiastic communities and parishes, casting a different light on the spirit of theoretical and practical approaches to the various problems arising from matters of ownership, privileges and jurisdiction of every ecclesiastic centre.<sup>79</sup> Hence, as a natural consequence, the writings referring to law of all sorts were established as tools for every library. The constant multiplication of these books and their frequent consultation led those in charge of dioceses to give them their own space to be stored and made accessible to all, as in the case of Christ Church at the end of the twelfth century. In parallel and simultaneously, rules of library science began to be instituted, such as alphabetical and other symbols for codices, indicating an approach to classification.<sup>80</sup>

**The libraries of the cathedrals.** In Continental Europe, from the Carolingian period already, book collections had begun to be concentrated at cathedrals, and scriptoria to operate, as a consequence of the bishops' propensity for acquiring books as well as the need arising for written material in the framework of liturgical tradition. Instances have besides been seen whereby centres for copyists were organized in the cathedral premises for the enrichment of their library, as in the case of Würzburg.<sup>81</sup> Thinkers lodged at cathedral centres influenced the intellectual level of a broader area, as at Reims Cathedral's circle of clerics on the Romance and Germanic worlds through its school, scriptorium and library.<sup>82</sup> Let us here bring to mind certain enlightened individuals who set their stamp on the intellectual predominance of Reims: Archbishop Tilpinus (753-800), most probably the founder of the copyist school,<sup>83</sup> Hincmar,<sup>84</sup> Remi d'Auxerre,<sup>85</sup> Gerbert,<sup>86</sup> Guy de Roye, archbishop of Reims<sup>87</sup> and many others.<sup>88</sup>

France's cathedral libraries, mainly after the twelfth century, acquired a role of greater essence in the education not only of the clergy but also of the laity. According to the period and the intellectual pursuits of each bishop, the schools took on the character of universities and well educated teachers determined their fates,

*Cathedrals  
the centres  
of education*

8. *The library of Fathers of the Church, with indications on its shelves bearing the names of the Fathers of the Eastern and Western Churches such as Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius et al. Engraving printed in London for Abel Swall & Timothy Childe in 1692.*





LONDON Printed for Abel Swall & Tim: Childe. 1692.



maintaining relations with universities, whilst libraries not only provided the necessary material for the conduct of studies but also evolved into lending libraries. A typical instance is Paris Cathedral's library, which in the thirteenth century was open even to indigent students of theology.<sup>89</sup>

For the period under scrutiny here – from the eleventh century to about the end of the twelfth – catalogues of French cathedral libraries in good condition have



9. Abbot Richer writing under dictation by Sulpicius Severus. *Receuil de textes sur Saint Martin*, at Metz, first half of the twelfth c. Épinal (MS 73, fo. 1).

not survived to enable us to have a more comprehensive overview of their role in education and the orientation of studies.<sup>90</sup>

A scriptorium was in operation at Metz Cathedral from the Carolingian period, in the years of Archbishop Angilram (768-791),<sup>91</sup> and after it was rebuilt in 1220 the library continued to be replenished, in the fourteenth century acquiring a reputation of distinction for the wealth of its contents.<sup>92</sup> At Troyes, whose library was overseen by a precentor, a full staff was at work to build it up: copyists and minia-



turists, special writers of musical books, bookbinders and silversmiths.<sup>93</sup> The old library of Rouen in Normandy, where a copying centre was in operation from the days of St. Ouen, fell victim to a fire that destroyed the cathedral in the night of Easter 1200.<sup>94</sup> The library was reconstituted and it is known that from the fourteenth century at least it began to receive a variety of donations, with the result that it acquired its own independent premises: a building overlooking the Cour des Libraires and dating to the fifteenth century.<sup>95</sup>

There is a catalogue of the library of Notre-Dame of Cambrai composed in the tenth century, recording 64 volumes.<sup>96</sup> Over the years this library became renowned for the wealth of its contents, due to the fondness for books of various bishops, mainly of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (1396-1420), who also taught at the school of Navarre. A characteristic is that representative material for every discipline is accumulated in the so-called 'librairie commune'.<sup>97</sup>

Of particular interest is also the cathedral library of Narbonne in an area that had developed close relations with Spanish monastic centres from the sixth century and for whose manuscripts Colbert<sup>98</sup> had already evinced a special interest. From the twelfth century the library had been endowed with valuable donations, however, significant book collections destined for it had changed destination, as did the collection of Archbishop Bernard de Farges<sup>99</sup> and of Gasbert du Val<sup>100</sup> who bequeathed their collections to the college of Narbonne in Paris – founded by the former in 1317 – and to the college founded by the latter in Toulouse in 1342. The codices of Narbonne's library were stored in various rooms, and in the section for public reading there were benches to which the books were chained.

A brief survey of the contents of the libraries of this era, from the end of the eleventh to about the end of the fourteenth shows the prominent position given to the department of manuals concerning law, canon as well as Roman, and also juridical treatises. The patristic texts were not satisfactorily represented, their place taken by writings of theology and scholastic philosophy: mainly works of Thomas Aquinas, Saint Bonaventure and other professors of Paris University.

The literature of antiquity was also to be found on the shelves of these libraries, but the lion's share of the themes of these works was held by works on grammar – the same being besides the case for many monastic libraries. Of Christianity's historians, present are the writings of Eusebius and Orosius, while Dares of Phrygia was placed in a unit containing the works of Bernard Guy, Vincent of Beauvais and others. Books in the local language are also to be found, such as romances, anthologies of poetry and epic poems. Certain cathedral libraries contained manuals of scientific content: Ptolemy's *Cosmography*; Strabo's *Geography*; Barthélemy





10. The scribe presenting his book to the Archangel Michael. Miniature in a codex of Saint Clement, *Recognitiones*, written at the Mont-Saint-Michel in the early eleventh century. Avranches (Ms 50 fo. 1).



l'Anglais' *De proprietatibus rerum*, and medical writings: Avicenna's *Canon*, treatises by Constantine the African and others.<sup>101</sup>

**The monastic reform of Cluny.** The reforms of Cluny brought about an upheaval of the West's ecclesiastic map and changed the relations of monastic centres with the laity. Monarchs had found ways to control the election of most abbots as well as bishops, as their appointment by the assembly of monks or the local clergy became official through the conduct of a ceremony sanctioned by the sovereign himself. In 910, however, the Duke of Aquitaine founded the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, placing the monastery under the influence of the Pope, at the same time granting guarantees of independence to the abbey from possible machinations on the part of the secular world.<sup>102</sup> Cluny succeeded in maintaining its autonomy as well as the autonomy of such houses as were connected to it, in a world where the 'privately owned' Church predominated.

The response to Cluny as centre of reform found favour, mainly in the monasteries and abbeys, and from the eleventh century it became Europe's principal abbey. Cluny's abbots associated with courtiers, sovereigns and popes. Pope Urban II (1088-1099) had been High Commissioner and his dignitaries were constantly travelling to Rome and the diverse affiliated monasteries, with the result that very soon the abbey became a religious 'Establishment'. With Abbot Peter the Venerable's (1121-1156) ambitious project of reconstruction, excessive amounts of the Abbey's assets were squandered – provoking the outrage of St. Bernard of Clairvaux – and resulted in the abbey's finding itself in dire financial straits from the mid-twelfth century.<sup>103</sup>

A repercussion of Cluny's movement of reform was the preponderance of another movement in Lotharingia, initiated by Jean, abbot of Gorze and disseminated by the indefatigable monks of St. Martin of Trier who were under the protection of the emperor Otto I. The reform movement was adopted by the monasteries of Germany and the Low Countries and attempted to impose a stricter application of the rules of Saint Benedict in the unaffiliated and lone monasteries.<sup>104</sup>

Italy's reform movement was influenced by both of the movements arising in the North but was also the home of a parallel native Italian reform movement initiated by hermits represented by Peter Damian and Humbert de Silva Candida. The hermits promulgated that the Church should be separate from the material world, castigating simony – that is, the sale of ecclesiastical offices – as well as the payment of money by the laity with the objective of recognition as founders of churches and monasteries.<sup>105</sup> The ulterior objective of the ecclesiastic reform move-



ment was the imposition of Church superiority over secular rule and the consolidation of a uniform Christian commonwealth of the West, naturally ever under the mantle of the Pope.

**A concealed opponent of the written word: the heresies.** Continuing in a tradition bespeaking that any written texts in book form which are agents of postulations and views contrary to the secular and ecclesiastic authorities be burned in *auto da fe* – enduring since the days of Protagoras and made official by Roman imperial decree, papal governance did not differentiate its stance toward the fresh provocations.

The new heretic trends of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to a certain degree had to do with the imposition of a different code of ethics, since whether in the bosom of the Church or externally there was always a tendency to stress the need that Christians should not diverge from the lines of ‘imitation of Christ’, the principal mark there of being an existence in conditions of poverty.<sup>106</sup> It is difficult to gauge the acts and beliefs of the heretics, as all surviving information derives mainly from the pen of their opponents and the prefabricated theories castigating their words and acts. Their own beliefs and writings have as a rule been burnt. In those days the burning of books was not only of a symbolic nature, it was also of essence, since it definitively destroyed the only existing written works of the authors.

The heresies that appeared then, in contrast to the older ones of Arianism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism and others, were not always accompanied by writings qualifying for theological inquisition in order to determine whether they were contrary to the dogma and official position of the Church. Their grass roots were simple people claiming that they personified reincarnations of the Messiah, addressing the urban society preaching philanthropy and glorifying penury.<sup>107</sup> One such was Tanchelm of Antwerp, who exhorted the faithful not to be ensnared by the greed and immoral behaviour of the clergy, and another, Peter de Bruys or Bruis who preached in Gascony and was burnt at the stake.<sup>108</sup>

A serious threat to the Church, and perhaps a sort of early Protestantism was the instance of Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyon who began to be disturbed by his own wealth whilst Jesus Christ and His disciples and many fellow men had lived and were living in poverty.<sup>109</sup> In a year, therefore, when the harvest failed, having consulted local theologians, Waldo reached the conclusion that in order to gain

*The upheaval  
provoked  
by Waldo*

11. *A view of the interior of the church of Cluny from the entrance. Coloured engraving by J.-B. Lallemand of about 1773.*









12. A builder monk of Cluny, etching from E. Boudiot's edition *Les Clunisiens*. 19th c.



eternal life he should abjure material wealth and distribute his possessions among the poor. He acted thereon, gathering twelve disciples round him, preaching, healing the sick and helping the poor. Not content with acts alone and to make his postulations comprehensible, Waldo saw to the translation of the Gospels into the Provençal language (the language of the Lyon region) so that they may be read by a broader public. In 1184, however, the Holy See intervened, and on the pretext of fine shades of meaning as to the interpretation of matters of theology and canon law, members of Waldo's 'society' were condemned as heretics. In view of this peril his followers were forced to take refuge in the mountains, and of Waldo's fate nothing is known.

Concurrently with Waldo's movement, in the twelfth century another movement was established in France which had roots in the Balkans from the year 1000, of the Cathars (from the Greek, meaning 'the Pure'), also known as the Albigensians.<sup>110</sup> The Cathars were the heirs of Manichaeism, a heresy vigorously persecuted by the Byzantines.<sup>111</sup> The elite of the Cathar movement were initiated in a public ceremony in the course of which they embraced a life of celibacy and completely renounced possessions. Despite the strict rules imposed by the movement, its propagation was so rapid that in about 1200 its followers counted half the population of France.

*The Cathar  
heresy*

The Vatican was aware that the Cathars had constituted a grave problem for the Church, not least because by 1170 they had succeeded in imposing their own Episcopal organization and a multitude of their followers began appearing further south, that is in the regions of Lombardy and Tuscany. Pope Innocent III did not underestimate their strength and the favourable reception they enjoyed on the part of the Christian flock and did not venture their dissolution through ecclesiastical mechanisms, declaring instead a crusade to be waged against them. It was marked by unspeakable massacres of citizens, led by 500 nobles from Northern France, although the king of France Philippe Auguste refused to take part in the expedition. The result was the 'crusaders' pillaged entire regions, butchered tens of thousands of the faithful and totally destroyed the rich cultural tradition of Southern France. The Cathars burrowed into the mountains between France and Spain, where they lived on in fear of a fresh 'crusade'.

**The Papal Inquisition.** The condemnation of books professing heretical postulations or positions contrary to those of the Church, with the burnings of the writings of Abelard and, later, of Luther and many others was instituted by the Holy Inquisition.





13. Domingo Núñez de Guzman overseeing the burning of books of the Cathars during the events following the crusades against the Albigensians, in an oil painting by Pedro Berruguete.



The proliferating 'heretical' trends in the bosom of the Church, coupled with the incapacity of local bishops to stifle them by imposition of penances, since ecclesiastical law courts were competent to settle disputes between secular and Church institutions, led the Holy See to the imposition of the Holy Inquisition at the outset of the thirteenth century.<sup>112</sup> This committee acquired official sanction in 1233 when Pope Gregory IX established it as an independent papal law court differing from the diocesan courts. There was no permanent office of Inquisitor and one was appointed *ad hoc* by the pope according to circumstance, and the Inquisition convened in each place where an issue had arisen tangent to a heresy. By initiative of Pope Gregory, the principal agents above all for the prosecution of heretics were the members of the order of Franciscans.

*The condemnation  
of books  
is corroborated  
by the Inquisition*

Legal methods of the Inquisition were literally a masquerade to hoodwink the public and the accused had no way of escaping the accusation and condemnation of death by burning other than confessing and abjuring his offences and the error of his ways, irrespectively whether he had committed them or not. There was no direct confrontation between accuser and accused and torture in order to extract a confession was common.

By the early fourteenth century the institution of the Holy Inquisition had begun to slacken but was soon revived as the papal circles felt under threat by the Beguines and the Spiritual Franciscans. The institution had however already lost its trans-national character in the Catholic world, since in France from 1330 the royal court of law had substituted for that committee, while in England it ceased in essence to exist following the establishment of the Anglican Church. Finally, the Inquisition established in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella had absolutely no relation to the equivalent papal institution.







## NOTES

### V

The Image of Europe  
in the Ottonian Period







## NOTES

1. See pp. 22, 23, 33, 37.
2. See pp. 208-209.
3. See pp. 109-110.
4. Charlemagne's gesture as evidenced by his will, which was to sell his books for the money to be distributed to the poor, insofar as it was carried out, did not in essence alter the state of things as most once more came into the hands of the Church such as Corbie Abbey for instance as well as others, see p. 148.
5. See pp. 192, 194.
6. See N.E. Karapidakis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Δύσης (5ος-11ος αἰ.)*, Athens, Alexandreia, 1996, 174-175; D. Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World. Society, Government and Thought in Europe, 312-1500* (= *Ἡ Ἐξέλιξη τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Κόσμου. Κοινωνία, Διακυβέρνηση καὶ Σκέψη στὴν Εὐρώπη, 312-1500*). Greek translation by Marianna Tziantzi, Athens, MIET, 2005, 267 ff.
7. On the development of 'national languages', see p. 244.
8. See P. Riché, 'Conséquences des invasions normandes sur la culture monastique dans l'Occident franc'. *Settimane di Studio*, XVI, Spoleto 1969.
9. On Whitby Abbey see p. 110.
10. See P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare. VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962, 365.
11. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 363.
12. The monastery of Laon had a scriptorium in which Anglo-Saxon scribes were at work producing codices with the works of Origen, St. Augustine, Orosius et al. See *Vie de Sainte Sadalberge* (= *MGH, SRM*, V, 40 and Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 412, 481-483.
13. St. Omer had founded the monastery of St. Peter (now St. Bertin) in about 645, renowned for its circle of intellectuals, see Fr. J. O'Boyle, 'Omer Saint' *CE* XI, 251.
14. The library of Mont-Saint-Michel acquired considerable substance in the years of Abbot Suppo de Fruttuaria. See Geneviève Nortier-Marchand, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie, Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroul, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen*, Caen 1966, 142-148.
15. The Benedictine abbey at Jumièges was founded by St. Philibert in 634 and in the days of Abbot Archard became widely famed, reaching the number of occupants of its fortifications and precinct of some 1,000 monks. In the ninth century it was laid waste by the Normans and burnt to the ground, to be reconstructed on an even larger scale by Duke William of Normandy. See Ch. A. Deshayes, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Pierre de Jumièges*, Rouen, 1829.
16. A catalogue of the abbey of St. Wandrille exists since the eighth century, specifically since before 750. See G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn 1885, 1 (no. 17).
17. See Nortier-Marchand, *Les Bibliothèques*, op. cit.
18. See B. Bischoff, *LP*, 106.
19. See *Chronicon Centulense* III, 3rd ed. F. Lot, *Chronique de Saint-Riquier (V<sup>e</sup> siècle-1104)*, Paris, A Picard, 1894 and E. Dekkers, 'La bibliothèque de Saint-Riquier au Moyen Âge', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, 1956.



20. A particular form of script and micrography was developed at the abbey of St. Amand in the times of Abbot Arn (783-821). See B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. M. Gorman, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 27, 42.
21. The abbey of St. Bertin had an established scriptorium already from the years of Abbot Nandharius (804-820). See Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, op. cit., 27. A twelfth century catalogue testifies to the existence of more than 300 codices in the abbey's library. See L. Grodecki et al., *Le Siècle de l'an mille*, Paris, Gallimard, 1973, 196.
22. See p. 19.
23. See Riché, *Éducation*, op. cit., 335.
24. On the Lateran library, see p. 82. The pillaging of Rome is related to the dispute between Pope Gregory VII with the German Emperor Henry IV, who evicted the pope from Rome when it was conquered by Henry's armies. Subsequently, Robert Guiscard, the all-powerful duke of Southern Italy drove the Germans out of Rome but before departing he plundered it. See A.G. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest*, Harlow, Pearson Education, 2000.
25. See P. Riché, 'De la Haute Époque à l'expansion du réseau monastique', *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques médiévales du V<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1530*, Paris, Promodis, 1989 (= HBF), 20.
26. *Ibid.*
27. See P. Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans le haut Moyen Âge*, Paris 1979, 121 ff.  
When Odon embraced the monastic life he entered the monastery of Baume-les-Messieurs, to which he donated his library see *Vita sancti Odoni, Bibliotheca Clunien-sis*, Mâcon, 1915, c. 24B. Regarding his participation in the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire, see M. Mostert, *The library of Fleury: A Provincial List of Manuscripts*, Hilversum, 1989.
28. See B.M. Olsen – P. Petitmengin, 'Les bibliothèques et la transmission des textes', HBF, 430 and regarding the extent of reconstruction of the various monastic centres such as the abbey of Saint-Sermin see *Guillaume de Volpiano en Normandie: état des questions*, Université de Caen Basse Normandie, 2002 and Véronique Gazeau – Monque Goullet (eds.) *Guillaume de Volpiano. Un Réformateur en son temps (962-1031)*, Brepols 2008.
29. An eleventh century catalogue mentions that the library housed 87 codices, see Riché, 'De la Haute Époque', op. cit., 21; B.M. Olsen, 'Les bibliothèques bénédictines et les bibliothèques de cathédrales: les mutation des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles' HBF, 31; on the wealth of this library in the twelfth century, see Olsen, 'Les bibliothèques bénédictines', op. cit., 36.
30. See *Miracula S. Vedasti* (= MGH, ss, XI, 402).
31. See Riché, 'De la Haute Époque', op. cit., 21.
32. See É. Lesne, *Les livres, Scriptoria et Bibliothèques du commencement du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 4, Lille 1938, 627.
33. See p. 167 ff. and p. 188 ff. respectively.
34. See J. Bastardas, 'El testamento de Riculfo Obispo de Elna y el Glosarium de Du Cange', *Bivium, Homenaje a Mannel C. Diaz y Diaz*, Madrid 1983, 33-34.
35. See Lesne, *Les livres*, op. cit., 534.
36. Léger was abbot of Autun and one of the most famous clerics of his day: initially archdeacon and teacher at Poitier's diocesan school, subsequently abbot of Saint Maximin in about 653 and was finally en-



- trusted with the abbey of Autun upon the intervention of Queen Batilda. See A. Fliche – V. Martin, *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. V: L. Bréhier – R. Agrain, *Grégoire le Grand, Les états barbares et la conquête arabe (590-756)*, Paris 1938, 351 and Ursinus, *Vita Sancti Leodegarii* (= MGH, V, 110).
37. L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 3 vols., Paris 1858-81, 443.
38. See G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885 No. 41 and Riché, *Les écoles*, op. cit., 366.
39. See P. Riché, 'La bibliothèque de Gerbert d'Aurillac', *Mélanges de la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne offerts à A. Tuillier*, 1988, 94-103.
40. See p. 148.
41. This catalogue was published in 1740 by L.A. Muratori, based on a tenth century manuscript no longer extant.
42. See Riché, 'De la Haute Époque', op. cit., 22.
43. *Ibid.*
44. On the library of Otto III see F. Mutterich, 'The Library of Otto III', *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. P. Ganz, *Bibliologia* 4, Turnhour 1986, vol. 2, 11-25.
45. See Mutterich, 'The Library', op. cit., 24.
46. See B. Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 36 (1961), 209-224 and M. Stanesco, 'L'espace linguistique européen. Le Moyen Âge', *HFL*, 78-150.
47. See in general M. Lapidge (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991 and Y. Lefèvre, 'De l'usage du français en Grande Bretagne', *Mélanges Félix Lecoy*, Paris, Champion, 1973, 301-305.
48. See F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, 13 vols. Paris 1905-1953; J.-P. Caput, *La langue française. Histoire d'une institution*, vol I: 842-1715, Paris 1972 and M. Banniard, 'Le français et la latinité: de l'émergence à l'illustration. Genèse de la langue française (III<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *HFL* 9-77.
49. See in general A. Ason Rosa (ed.), *Litteratura italiana*, I, *L'età medievale*, Torino, Einaudi, 1987.
50. See P. Ainsworth, 'Conscience littéraire de l'histoire, conscience littéraire de l'espace', *HFL*, 359-381 and M. Fox, 'Origins in the English Tradition', A. Hass – D. Jasper – Elisabeth Jay (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009<sup>2</sup>, 35-53.
51. See *Raoul de Cambrai*, P. Meyer – A. Longnon (ed.), Paris, SATF, 1882.
52. *The Song of Roland* must have been written in the ten years between 1060 and 1070. The earliest relative manuscript in existence dates to the end of the twelfth century and is to be found at Oxford. See mainly R. Bezzola, 'De Roland à Raoul de Cambrai', *Mélanges Hoepffner*, Paris 1949; R. Pidal Menendez, *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épique des Francs*, Paris, Picard 1960 and H.-E. Keller, *Autour de Roland, Recherches sur la chanson de geste*, Paris, Champion 1989.
53. See Claudia Brinker – von der Heyde, *Die literarische Welt des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, 2007, 138, 144 et al.
54. See Francine Mora, 'Le domaine français' *HFL*, 702 ff. and in general, E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Âge*, Paris Champion 1967<sup>2</sup>.
55. The source for the fictional tradition around Alexander was the *Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις* from which pseudo-Kallistenes – that is Juius Valerius – drew the material



- for his Latin version, to whom we owe besides the apocryphal letter from Alexander to Aristotle on the miracles of Asia. See J. Frappier, 'Le Roman d'Alexandre et ses différentes versions du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Grundriss der romanischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, IV/1, Heidelberg 1978, 149-167.
56. See Mora, 'Le domaine français', *op. cit.*, 703 and for more, G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, Cambridge 1956 and C. Gaullier-Bougassas, *Les Romans d'Alexandre. Aux frontières de l'épique et du romanesque*, Paris, Champion 1997.
57. This is one of the few mentioned by name by Gildas in his sermon *Excidio Britanniae*, in which Bede is also mentioned, *Hist. eccl.*, see in general Chr. Gidlow, *The Reign of Arthur: From History to Legend*, Sutton Publishing, 2004.
58. See R.S. Loomis (ed.), *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1959.
59. See J. Frappier, *Chrétien de Troyes et le mythe du Graal*, SEDES, 1969 and P. Gallais, *Perceval et l'initiation*, Paris, Éd. Du Sirac.
60. See A. Strubel, 'Lisible/Visible, Ekphrasis et allégorie. I. Moyen Âge', *HFL*, 293-295. Chrétien de Troyes, *Oeuvres complètes*, published under the direction of D. Poirion, Paris, Gallimard, La Pléiade, 1993. In particular see *Le Conte du Graal*, ed. W. Roach, Genève/Paris, Droz-Minard, 1959 and P. de Rider, *Le Chevalier dans le Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, SEDES, 1978.
- Chrétien de Troyes was the most significant author of romances of his time and wrote *The Tale of the Graal* for account of Philip of Alsace, between 1180 and 1190.
61. See P.-Y. Badel, 'Le Roman de la Rose' au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Étude sur la réception de l'œuvre*, Genève, Droz, 1980 and A. Strubel, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Paris, PUF, 1984.
62. Very soon, mass in church was substituted to by the 'ludus' (game/play), which was the reproduction of certain extracts of determining significance from the scriptures, mainly the Gospels, read out during Christmas and Easter mass. The necessity for this daring procedure was based on the fact that as mass was in Latin, the faithful did not understand all the teachings, and it was therefore deemed imperative to dramatize the monotonous reading with imitation of the scenes described in the scriptures. See G. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1926.
63. See J. Bodel, *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, ed. A. Henry, Genève, Droz 1980 and the re-issue with the translation by J. Dufournet, Paris, GF Flammarion, 2005.
64. See D. Knowles – R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, London 1971<sup>2</sup> and D. Knowles, *The monastic order in England*, Cambridge 1969<sup>2</sup>, 100-252. See also Janet Burton, *The monastic order in Yorkshire, 1066-1215*, Cambridge, 1999.
65. See H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: a list of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100*, Tempe AZ, 2001.
66. See D.N. Dumville, 'English libraries before 1066: use and abuse of the manuscript evidence', ed. M. Richards, *Anglo Saxon manuscripts: basic readings*, New York 1994, 169-219.
67. See Knowles – Hadcock, *Medieval*, *op. cit.*, 463-487.
68. See p. 144.
69. These catalogues were re-issued and annotated by M. Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', M. Lapidge – H. Gneuss (eds.) *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Stud-*



ies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, Cambridge 1985, 33-89.

70. See Lapidge, 'Surviving', *op. cit.*

71. See D. Ganz, 'Anglo-Saxon England', *LBI*, 96 and in general M. Lapidge, 'The study of Latin texts in late Anglo-Saxon England (1): the evidence of Latin glosses', N. Brooks (ed.), *Latin and the vernacular languages in early medieval Britain*, Leicester, 1982, 101.

72. See *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I, ed. P. Lehmann, München, 1918.

73. See Ganz, 'Anglo-Saxon', *op. cit.*, 105-107. This catalogue was published in anastatic form in the edition by R.W. Chambers – M. Förster – R. Flower, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, London 1933. See also Lapidge, 'Surviving', *op. cit.*, 64-69.

74. See Ganz, 'Anglo-Saxon', *op. cit.*, 106-107.

75. See Teresa Weber, 'Monastic and cathedral book collections in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries', *LBI*, 113.

76. See C.J. Mews, 'Monastic educational culture revisited: the witness of Zwiefalten and the Hirsau reform', G. Ferzoco – C. Muessig (eds.), *Medieval monastic education*, London 2000, 183-191.

77. *Ibid.*

78. See Weber, 'Monastic', *op. cit.*, 115.

79. See M.T. Gibson, 'The twelfth-century glossed bible', *Studia Patristica*, 23, Leuven, 1989, 232-244 and C.F.R. de Hamel, *Glossed books of the bible and the origins of the Paris book trade*, Woodbridge 1984. Regarding the book trade in the framework of the operation of Paris university, see also p. 287 ff.

80. N. Ramsay, 'The cathedral archives and library', P. Collinson – N. Ramsay – M. Sparks (eds.), *A history of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford 1995, 350 and R. Game-

son, 'The medieval library (to c. 1450)', *LBI* 23. See R. Sharpe, 'Accession, classification, location: shelfmarks in medieval libraries', *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), 282-283.

81. See p. 162.

82. See *PL*, 135, 124.

83. See Flodoard de Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 2, 17.

84. On Hincmar see p. 242. See also F.M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845-882 A.D.)', *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. L.W. Jones, New York, 1938, 57, regarding the outset of his career.

85. He was a student of the Irish teacher Dun-chad from Reims, who later taught at the abbey of St. Germain, at Auxerre, Paris and Reims successively, see p. 207.

86. See p. 242.

87. Guy de Roye had an admirable library containing 178 books in 158 volumes and a relative catalogue. See J. le Braz, 'La bibliothèque de Guy de Roye, archevêque de Reims (1390-1409)', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, 6 (1957), 67-100.

88. See in regard to the chronicle of the library according to a catalogue of the fifteenth century, Colette Jeudy – Yves-François Riou, 'La bibliothèque cathédrale de Reims d'après l'inventaire de 1456', *HBF*, 55-57.

89. See p. 291 and A. Franklin, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque publique de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1863.

90. See Monique-Cécile Garand, 'Les anciennes bibliothèques du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *HBF*, 54, 58-63.

91. See W. Koehler, *Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars-Metzer Handschriften*, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen, 3 vols., Berlin, 1960, 95.

## CHAPTER V

### *The image of Europe in the Ottonian Period*



92. See S. Claisse, *La Bibliothèque du chapitre cathédrale de Metz au Moyen Âge*, doctoral dissertation Nancy-II, 1984-1985 and Garand, 'Les anciennes', *op. cit.*, 54, 59.
93. See F. Bibolet, 'La bibliothèque des chanoines de Troyes: leurs manuscrits du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Mémoires de la Société académique de l'Aube*, 104, 1964-1966, 139-177.
94. See Garand, 'Les anciennes', *op. cit.*, 59.  
We know more about this library than any other of the twelfth century in France thanks to two catalogues that reached our days: the first was composed in the years of Archbishop Geoffroi (111-1128), recording 58 volumes and the second must refer to the content of the library after the death of Archbishop Rotrou de Warwick (1165-1183), *Relevé*, Nos. 1666 and 1667.
95. See Anna Prache, 'Bâtiments et décor', *HBF*, 357 and regarding the 'master-mason' who built it in 1479, see A. Loisel, *La Cathédrale de Rouen*, Petite monographie des grands édifices de France, Paris 1927, 50-51.
96. *Relevé*, No. 321.
97. See Garand, 'Les anciennes', *op. cit.*, 59 and Olsen, 'Les bibliothèques bénédictines', *op. cit.*, 40.
98. See A. Vernet, 'La bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Narbonne au Moyen Âge', *Études médiévales*, 1981, 491-499 and 673-676.
99. B. de Farges (1311-41) was the founder of the Collège de Narbonne in Paris, see H.M. Brock, 'Carcassonne', *CE* III, 332.
100. Gasbert de la Val (du Val) was archbishop of Arles from 1324 to 1341.
101. See Garand, 'Les anciennes', *op. cit.*, 60.
102. Founded by William I, Count of Auvergne, who appointed Berno first abbot

in the days of the pontificate of Sergius III, see in general A. Gerhards, *L'Abbaye de Cluny*, 1992.

103. Bernard de Clairvaux (1090-1153) became a personality of distinction in the French monastic world and the ecclesiastic environment in general. His education began at the hands of the clerics of St. Vorles of Châtillon and in 1113, in the company of brethren and friends who wished to follow him he entered the newly established abbey of Cîteaux (1089), serving in the stricter version of the Rule of Saint Benedict. Only two years later, in 1115, he founded the abbey of Clairvaux, where he lived for the rest of his life. From the earliest years of his abbacy he formed close relations with patrons of the clergy and the Church as well as with other monastic centres: the abbeys of Saint-Victor and of Saint-Thierry for example.

He began writing in 1124 and his spirit soon found recognition, earning him his first followers. A large part of his works is represented by his *Homilies*, whilst his voluminous *oeuvre*. *Sermons sur la 'Cantique des Cantiques'* is esteemed as the summit of his written works. The attitude of the Cistercian monks, of Cluny in particular, quickly found him in opposition to them. His disposition to impose rules of reform was not confined to the life of monks and extended both to the way of life of the clergy and bishops and to the whole image presented by the Church. In 1140, urged by his friend Guillaume, abbot of Saint-Thierry, he opposed Abelard as well as other intellectuals of his time. In 1145 one of his followers came to the papal throne as Eugene III and Bernard thus continued to exert pressure through the Holy See from now



on and through numerous other works. See Cl. Stercal, *Bernard de Clairvaux. Intelligence et amour*, Paris I, 1998 and M. Corbin, *Grâce et liberté chez Saint-Bernard*, Paris, 2002 and *Dictionnaire critique de théologie*, Paris, QUADRIGE/PUF, 2007<sup>3</sup>, 192-195.

104. The Gorze reform derives from the Benedictine monastery of that name in the area of Metz, founded in 749 by St. Chrodegang of Metz. See J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform*, Oxford 2005.

105. Humbert began his life as a monk at the Benedictine monastery of Marmoutiers in the Vosges mountains, and was already at the age of 15 considered an authority on the Greek and Latin languages. He concentrated on studies of theology and on the issue of Church-State relations. Pope Leo IX nominated him archbishop of Sicily and later elevated him to cardinal. He intervened in ecclesiastical matters with the aim of the union of the two Churches, coming into open conflict with theologians of Constantinople in 1054.

After the death of Pope Leo, Humbert returned to Rome, placing himself at the service of Pope Victor II. Subsequently when Stephen IX came to the papal throne in 1057, he occupied the office of papal chancellor and was head of the Vatican library. He died in 1061. On his works, see *PL* 143 (1882) and *MGH*, I, 95-253.

106. See J. de Goff (ed.) *Hérésies et Sociétés dans*

*l'Europe préindustrielle (XI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Paris, La Haye, 1968; M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomilism to Hus*, London 1977 and E. Peters (ed.) *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.

107. See E. Delaruelle, *La Piété populaire au Moyen Âge*, Turin 1975.

108. See E. Mitre – Chr. Granda, *Las Grandes Herejias de la Europa Cristiana (380-1520)*, Madrid 1983.

109. See G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c. 1180-c. 1570*, tr. Claire Davison, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999 and M. Frassetto, *Heretic Lives. Medieval Heresy from Bogomil and the Cathars to Wyclif and Hus*, London, Profile Books, 1996, 57-74.

110. See M. Lambert, *The Cathars*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1998.

111. See Staikos III, 59.

112. See H. Ch. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., New York, Harper, 1887; G. Bernard, *Manuel de l'Inquisiteur*, New York, Holmes & Meier, 1981; E. Peters, *Inquisition*, New York, Free Press, 1988 and J. Given, 'A Medieval Inquisitor at Work: Bernard Gui, 3 March 1308 to 19 June 1323', *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, ed. S.K. Cohn Jr. & St. A. Epstein – Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996.







VI

THE UNIVERSITY  
WORLD





MEDICA VIRTUTE LEUCI  
 ORIENTES BEDERE LUCI  
 IS. IAM NOMEN DEPTUS  
 BLIMI MARMORE SEPTUS  
 TUM. BIS O? NOTENIS  
 IUSTUM TORO ET HABENIS



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 ROPDINI



## THE UNIVERSITY WORLD

### *University Libraries and New Systems for Reproduction and Dissemination of Knowledge*

**A**s education gradually passed from the province of monastic centres into the hands of the clergy who did not belong to any monkish order, and the schools annexed to cathedrals, there also appeared the first indications of formation of an independent student movement which by stages led to the establishment of schools entirely separate from the Church. The first step in this change was of course the composition of works of literature in regional languages, as was seen above, and the second was the appearance of travelling intellectuals-scholars and their followers.

From the twelfth century, student communities pursuing diverse interests moved from place to place, following itinerant teachers, with a view to satisfying their quest for enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> A form of 'education' thus came about in a life lived in common whereby systematic lessons and lectures continued in the taverns and revelries and these itinerant students formed an order of adventurers with Goliath the Philistine as their patron: a person who offered his services to Rainald van Dassel, Frederic Barbarossa's chancellor. A characteristic of Goliath's influence was the diffusion of a form of verse called 'goliardic' after him, of which a typical instance is the well known 'school play' *The Gospel according to Mark Argyrius*, a parody mocking the reading of the gospel in church services. Certain poetic compositions such as 'Goliath's Confession' by the Archpoet were more ambitious and made a great impression on this particular public.<sup>2</sup>

At that period, that is from the twelfth century on, the European intellectual map saw radical change: Bologna developed into the most important centre for the study of Roman law and at Salerno the first school of medicine was founded. The Norman kings who had conquered Southern Italy and Sicily sponsored Latin translations of writings with a technical content from Greek, considerably enriching the fund of knowledge in an almost unknown field. At Toledo, in the Iberian Peninsula, in the wake of the Muslim retreat an activity in translation appeared

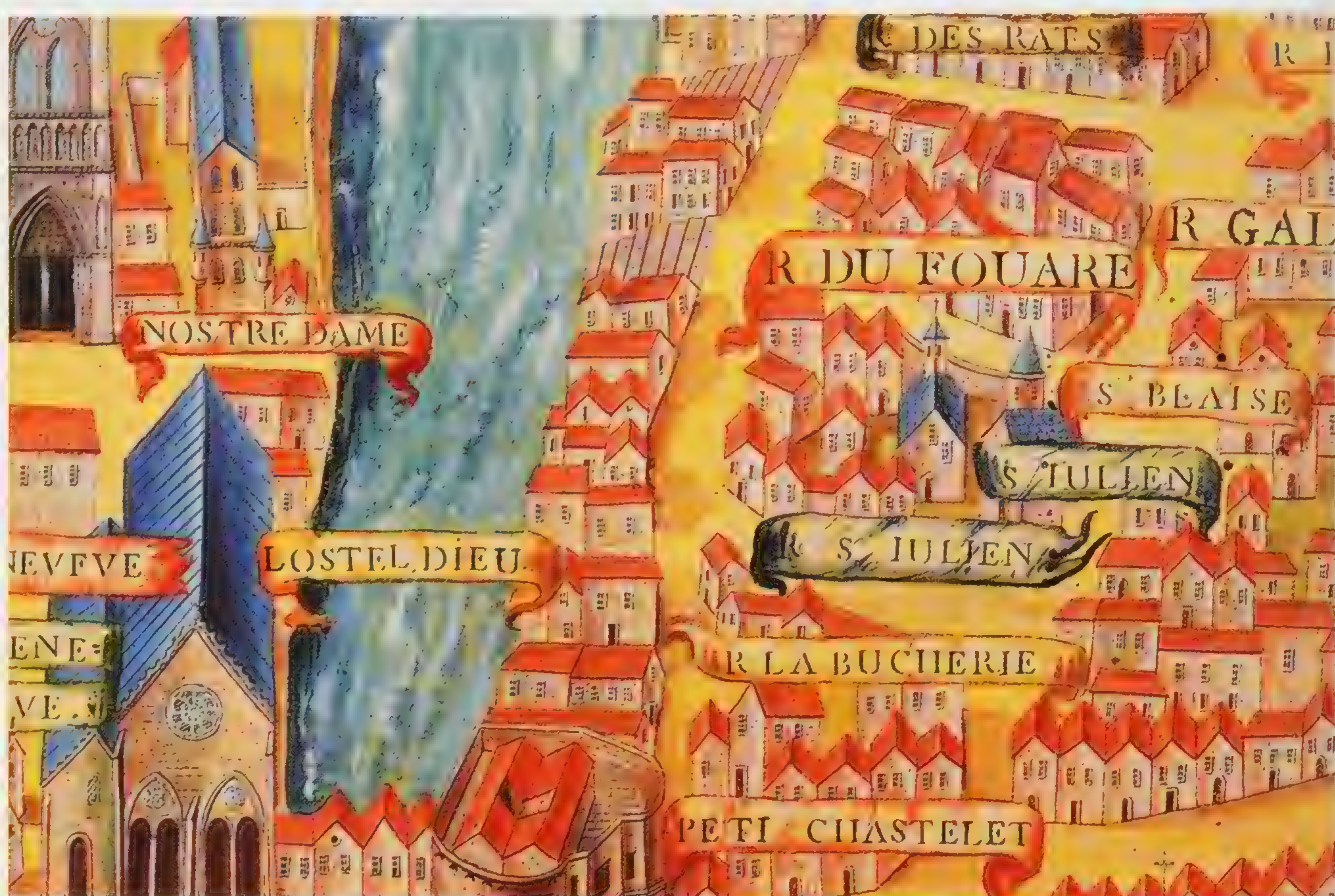
*Toward  
university  
education*

1. Detail from the gate of the church of SS Vitale and Agricola, thirteenth century, Bologna.



around Arabic texts with official support and which placed hitherto unknown material at the disposal of the West. To go on to the British Isles, intellectual centres were transposed to the south in England, and into Norman France, Canterbury and Bec being the most important. The revival, however, of the literary science of classical texts in general sprang from Orléans and Chartres, with Fulbert and later Bernard de Chartres.

**The university centres.** The first European universities, that is for advanced learning, in the Middle Ages were by their nature and their institution an inexhaustible source of books, forging in the student community a conscious assembly



2. Plan of Paris in tapestry work, depicting the left and right banks of the Seine at the level of Nôtre-Dame, housed in the *Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris*.

of a personal library: all the more since a student 'library' became an institution of the universities. The appearance of universities was indisputably the most significant development in the sector of education in the Middle Ages and contributed to the propagation of knowledge in all social strata.

Corporations of students and professors, referred to as *studium generale* (gen-



eral course of study) represented the early university centres.<sup>3</sup> These schools did not have their own premises, teachers usually renting rooms, often in specific areas which in time became student quarters, such as the Left Bank of the Seine and Paris's famous rue de Fouarre. Graduates received a diploma as proof of studies, enabling them to teach anywhere, as opposed to the titles given by the cathedral schools which did not confer a generalized authority. The pronouncement of a school as *studium generale* was however in the privilege alone of the emperor or the pope himself.

The curriculum chosen by these centres comprised two courses of study, lower or higher or professional, consisting of teaching medicine, canon and civil law and theology. From the late thirteenth century, however, schools of liberal arts, whose graduates in fact at the same time taught the students of the lower cycle came into being in most universities. Many schools soon acquired a reputation for the level of their studies even before they were instituted as university centres, such as Salerno for example, which was already renowned in the tenth century for its medical tuition.<sup>4</sup> In this case too, however, the School of Salerno acquired the status of a university only in the thirteenth century, which was due to its possibility of access to the science of the Muslim community of Sicily and to personalities of the stature of Constantine the African.<sup>5</sup>

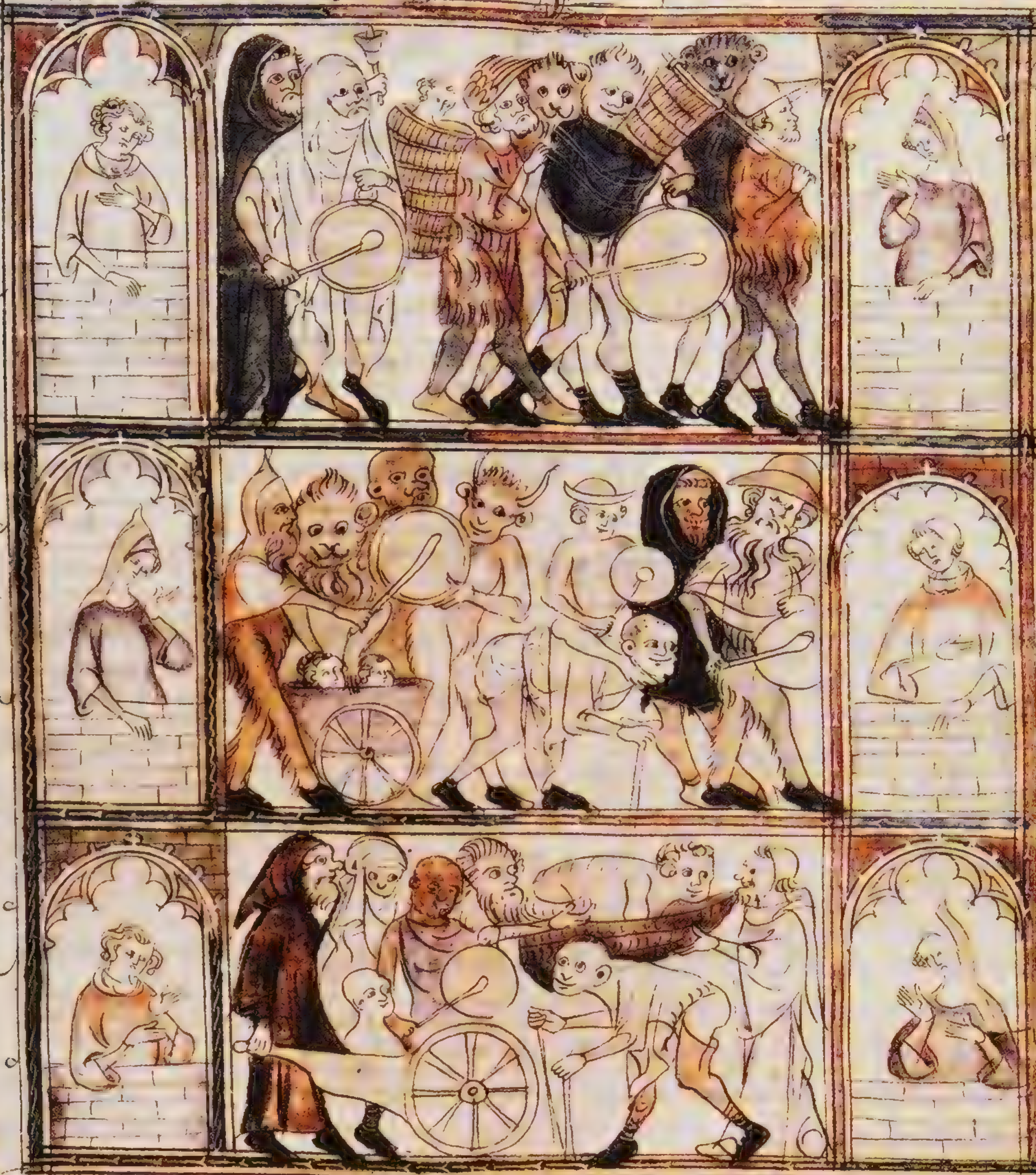
Nevertheless, despite the efforts for independence of these centres, the cultivation and the spread of knowledge had not entirely been freed from control of the Church and the 'obscurantism' of many of its office holders. The method of research in higher education was the 'commentary': this was the analysis by professors of fundamental writings that contained indisputable truths, with the aim of demonstrating their lasting value from age to age. These interpretative annotations (glosses) were elaborated by the teachers and entered either in the margins or between the lines of the passages treated in lectures. The method was constructive for all branches albeit catastrophic for medicine, since the authorities in the science, Greeks such as Hippocrates and Galen as well as the medical treatises of the Persian, Avicenna, could only be inculcated on a purely theoretical level. Doctors on the other hand were not free to follow the indications of their teachers as their 'colleagues' practising this vocation drew their knowledge from pharmacists and empirical doctors under the strict eye of the Church, which professed that bodily illness declared the sins of the patients. The Lateran's Fourth Synod indeed prohibited doctors from seeing patients a second time unless they had previously been visited by a priest, furthermore obliging the doctor to warn the patient that what was needed was spiritual and not corporal healing.



mine ou griere . cest pour tant seulement quel püst en maison a com  
piter chuntes de ceus q font le chat.

plus leur desir emplus grant seure.

que sus ala dance de meunon



**D**ous seions des prelatz, guespi, et des sairens mestres .



**The organization of the university centres.** In Paris, where the first university of the North was hatched, the *studium generale* represented a ‘corporation of teachers of arts’ called *magistri*, as they are referred to from the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> These teachers did not have a permanent chair and taught at diverse schools, the most important of which was the cathedral school of Nôtre-Dame de Paris. The whole institution, including teaching staff and student body was fairly complex, as most teachers who had completed their studies in the liberal arts departments taught them in turn to the younger students while at the same time studying at the School of Theology. In this way the teacher-students exerted considerable influence on the decisions of the Church, which always sought to control theoretical and practical issues. In 1200 for instance, the rector of the board of Nôtre-Dame was forced to grant a teaching licence only to those students who had been approved by the professors’ corporation – which thus of course consolidated the professors’ prestige and their right to use their own seal.

**The spread of the institution of the university.** From the early thirteenth century there were four substantial university centres in continental and insular Europe, mentioned above: Bologna<sup>7</sup>; Paris;<sup>8</sup> Salerno<sup>9</sup> and Oxford.<sup>10</sup> Each of these institutions attracted students from all the European countries, thus forming an international student community, with the difference that Oxford already from 1209 was denuded of professors who deserted to found the equivalent at Cambridge.

From then on the institution of the university community developed apace, principally in Italy and France, less swiftly in England. In Italy students from Bologna University established universities in various cities such as Padua, dating to 1222 and Naples, with the contribution of Frederick II in 1224. In Florence conversely a university began operation a century later, in 1321, but which, from 1397 was to develop into the centre par excellence for humanistic studies, also instituting a chair of Greek studies.

After the university of Paris, Pope Gregory IX founded an equivalent university at Toulouse in 1229, with the main object of fighting the Cathar movement in Southern France. The peace treaty signed by the king of France with Count Raymond of Toulouse obliged the latter to fund fourteen posts of professors at the local university. It was an attempt at mobilizing academics, with the goal of bringing back the study of Aristotelian texts to the forefront, as their teaching had been

3. Typical illustration of the ‘cheval fauve’ in the *Roman de Fauvel*, a new form of literature, satirical, introduced by Gervais de Bus. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (fo. 36).





4. A magister ex cathedra, miniature from a manuscript dating to 1366. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (Ms 1939, 53v)

prohibited in Paris. Toulouse eventually developed into a significant centre for legal studies while Orléans became the top-ranking university for studies in Roman law.<sup>11</sup> The year 1300, finally, saw the birth of the universities of the Iberian Peninsula: Valencia and Valladolid in Castile; Salamanca in Leon; Huesca in Aragon; Lerida in Catalonia, and Lisbon and Coimbra in Portugal.

Within about two centuries, university studies underwent spectacular development in Europe, forming a multitudinous university community, if it were to be calculated that the twenty centres of higher education in operation in about 1300 numbered eighty in 1500. The German territory lent itself to the establishment of a university in the mid-fourteenth century, in 1347 to be specific, when the emperor of Germany and Bohemia founded the first centre of the kind at Prague. About twenty years later, in 1365, the foundations were laid of the university of Vienna on the initiative of Duke Rudolf IV of Habsburg, followed by the university of Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388) and Erfurt (1392).

**Student life and obtaining a degree.** The stages will here succinctly be mentioned of education in advanced studies and the parallel activity of book reproduction which led to indispensable private libraries for



each student. Students spent many years on the university benches and, given that they had had prior education in grammar and rhetoric, university lectures focused on the study of Logic. Classes were conducted by the dialectic method, and it was habitual for students to ask a fellow student to keep notes, which were then distributed among them at the wine-shop, to be followed by creative intellectual discussions.<sup>12</sup>

After four or five years, students sat for their first promotional examinations, with a view to obtaining the title of a degree holder. It was followed by a period of practical exercise, either as afternoon lectures to students or in preparation of the regular class, for the account of and in collaboration with their teachers. In the course of these two years it was mandatory for a student to attend and participate in the fixed weekly disputations, led by his professor. After this practical exercise he was now fully equipped to take the necessary examinations and obtain his degree as *master*. At the next stage he passed through a procedure necessitating a public lecture or taking part in open debate in the presence of his professor and other colleagues, and, when this was completed, the title of 'teacher of arts' was bestowed on him.



5. A grammar teacher in a schoolroom, woodcut from the edition Boethius De disciplina scholarium, Cologne, Henricus Quentell, 1493.

**The image of the early universities.** At the outset, the image presented by these university centres was but of a relatively small number of students and teachers. The latter did not in fact even have assured premises nor a salary for their work, and there were no libraries to back up their lectures. A room for the purpose was generally rented by the teachers themselves who were remunerated by the sums paid by the students from prosperous families or taken as alms.



The sector of university libraries was moreover even more dismal as the entire fund of books was in the hands of the Church, kept mainly in the cathedral libraries, which were closed or difficult of access to the secular public. It is certain that the autonomy of education was very costly for the pioneers of the idea, and although professors began to enjoy some privileges such as tax exemption and a form of immunity, these were insufficient to cope with the abundant other problems and difficulties of daily life. However, from the moment the institutions began to have firm foundations they found support not only from a broad spectrum of the laity but also from many members of the clergy who sought the acquisition of a discipline, whether in the domain of theology or law.

The wish and the will of every student to have access to higher education by registering in some intellectual centre and thus enjoy a social status presupposed a financial ease both for living expenses as well as the acquisition of suitable tools, i.e. books. Manuals of grammar, theological and legal texts, and above all the scriptures were the indispensable equipment for every student. For example, the regulations of the college of Séez in Paris obliged all students to possess a copy of the scriptures from the earliest years of enrolment.<sup>13</sup> There was however some flexibility as to the time allowed to students in order to acquire these 'tools', which was to enable them to copy the text if they could not afford to purchase it. It is therefore easy to understand that books became a basic necessity, confirmed by the evidence of students' insistent appeals to parents for funds so as to be able to buy books: the scriptures or the *Corpus Juris Civilis* or even a *Doctrinale*.<sup>14</sup>

**The system of *peciae* and the role of the *exemplar*.** It is evident that from the outset of elevating studies to a university level these institutions faced grave problems, without solutions to which they could not operate efficiently. One of them was to enable every student to have the proper written aids in his possession. Initially, to deal with this problem, as was the case of the university of Montpellier as early as 1240, its charter of operation for medical science obliged teachers and students who owned the wherewithal for study to lend the material generously to any person in need for the purpose of copying it.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, at almost the same time at the universities of Bologna and Paris, a plan was devised to ensure a cheaper, quicker and more flexible reproduction of the indispensable instruments of study for those students who did not have the financial means to acquire them.<sup>16</sup> The system of *peciae* was thus introduced, greatly facilitating access to the source of study material for all students.

The indispensable  
preparatory  
groundwork  
of students



**Circulation of university books.** An innovation in the area of the reproduction and distribution of books occurred as early as the twelfth century, establishing the profession of publisher-bookseller, adapted principally to the needs of universities. From those days in Bologna *stationes librorum* were set up, while a catalogue dating to 1219 records the names of three *venditores librorum*.<sup>17</sup> Bologna University's organogram also included certain *venditores librorum* whom the authorities had furthermore divided into two categories: the *stationarii exempla tenentes* (or *stationarii peciarum*) and the *venditores librorum*. Both these categories of booksellers had the right to lend integral chapters (*fascicoli*) from texts, against a specific payment, to whomever should want a copy, whether scribe, student or teacher. The university authorities allowed the category of *venditores* the liberty to commercialize books, that is to act as agents of books from an earlier period or other schoolbooks (*peciae*), sold by those who had terminated the study of the material in question. From at least 1275 the university of Bologna wanted to organize and control the way *peciae* were reproduced, by a special regulation thereof, as well as the work of the *stationarius*. The place where students and professors could obtain the necessary study aids was the office of the *stationarius*, which was a sort of official university Press cum bookseller, the texts available there having been approved by authority of the rectors and in accordance with the instituted regulation of the *peciae*.<sup>18</sup>



6. A professor of law in his study, miniature from the manuscript Gratianus Decretum, written in Bologna in the fourteenth century. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (Ms Rep. 119 b. CCXL III, fo. 81v).

**What was the *pecia*.** The process of thought for the *peciae* was to 'economize' on books, meaning the effort to make books more accessible to the worse-off students. To this end, each university text was copied by chapter, corresponding to specific curriculum material, then purchased by any student, who could subsequently sell it in turn, thus considerably reducing the cost of text books. The



pedes quid g' vnt hnt h octo. h sepie  
quid r trenchides breues. polypoda  
aut magnos. hntol. n. corpore hnt  
quid magni hnt. hnt aut pmi. qua  
h hnt quid abstrit a corpore r adlo  
gritudine pedu appoluit natura. hnt  
aut a pedib; accipunt corpus aug  
mentant. pp q non solu hnt quidem  
ad uatand irales pedes h ad ambuland  
du hnt aut nntal. pmi. n. hntol aut  
magnu hnt quib; aut breues hnt  
pedes r nntales ad suscipi r no retrah  
apertis cum tempestas fuit r hnt  
r ad uatand adducunt. pp hoc pbalza  
dal hnt dual longas quib; impetum  
faciunt r le mouent sicut nauis cu  
hnt fuit r que longe pdaur et  
adducunt hnt r sepie trenchides. pp  
lipodes aut non hnt pbalzadas q se  
des ipis fuit ad hnt irales. Quib; et  
aut cotylidones apud pedes r plecta  
ne ad hnt. pmi hnt r opm tale  
qualem quid luctora quib; medi  
a antiqui digitos nnterunt sic et  
ul plecta sunt quib; trahunt  
net r occurrerent complend  
ti cristena. Cum aut occidit  
plicat r hnt mthoxi tangente  
omi. Quare qm aliud no e quo ad  
ducant nli hnt quid pedib; hnt  
pbalcalib; hnt hnt ad pugna et  
ad aliud aduocant pmi. alia  
quid g' dicotyla sunt. Genus aut  
quidam polypoda mnt cotylon.  
Ea a longitudo r subtia n' ipoxu.  
mouentur. n. uatand angustia.  
non g' ut optimi hnt hnt nnt pp  
ppiam rone lube. Epimulan aut  
hnt omia hnt mntu dea hntol. hoc  
aut malut quid copulata r nntu  
uunt. r m magnu trenchid. ox. qno  
rel aut r uocate trenchides lant hnt  
hnt. r no qm fuit hnt sepie r poli  
podet r h a medio ortum r no i eant  
p totu. h aut hnt ut uatent r ad di  
ngend sicut uolatib; vropigum.

piscib; aut caudale. minimu a  
cauda h r neq; m lignae polypo  
lib; est. quia pmi hntol hnt et  
dringitur pedib; sufficienti.  
**S**entomus quid r malacos  
tratis r ostracodmus r male  
pnt dan e r de mthoxi pti; r er  
clouib;.  
**U**tem aut a pnapio  
de sanguinem hntib; r alificat o  
lidand mapiantib; a reliquit et  
pnt deil pti;.  
**H**nt aut de mthoxi  
tis de sanguinem hntib; ouificat eod  
modo dicent. pti; quid g' que dan  
caput alium deil fuit pmi r q  
circa uocatam collum r eucem.  
**H**nt aut caput omia sanguinem  
hnta alia. ex sanguine aut quib;  
dam mntimata hnt p uelut am  
ent. Collum quid alifica omia ha  
bent. Quare a hnt quid hnt hnt  
aut no hnt. Quare quid m. pul  
moue hnt r collum hnt. non est  
pnaua aut de mthoxi non hnt hnt  
pnaua. Et aut apud quid  
mthoxi cerebri gra. hnt. n. hnt  
pnaua hnt sanguinem hntib; r in  
opposito loco cordi pp deil pul cal.  
Exponit a q natura ipso r sensu  
um quoldam pp mntimabile  
e e sanguine plenouem. r ad de  
bri calefacione r ad sensum que  
tem r pspirate. Ad hnt autem  
taam pnaua appoluit alimentu i  
gressum opaul. hnt. n. ppoluit  
mentimare mame. m. n. de mthoxi  
pnaua cordis r pnapu mntimabile  
tem m de mthoxi existente quo  
hnt mntimabat mntimabile ad hnt de  
lubrus esse cordis. Quare. n. m  
q longitudo e corpus r longe o  
mthoxi a mouente pnapio r digen  
te.  
**C**aput quid g' hnt gra est.  
**C**ollum aut arterie gra pnaua  
n. est r saluat hnt r uolagiu i dai  
tu mntimabile. Alul quid g' est fca  
bile r spondile hnt. lupi aut rle

bicantiam  
ni amie



method had of course been employed before, albeit not in schools but for the Bible as has been seen above.<sup>19</sup> In this way not only was there no diminished quality of the material but the university community was enabled to enrich its teaching scope without hindrance. It is therefore a case of an excellent university organization for the issue of text books, functioning under optimum qualified specifications, taking also social inequalities into consideration. This humanistic practice gave to all an equal opportunity of access to education, while forging the scholarly conscience whose foundation and starting point is the written word.

**The world of the *pecia*.** The university institution of teaching by chapters of a book corresponding to concrete texts had been examined from all aspects in the university environment of Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, Oxford and elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> Data are available on the thematics of the texts submitted to this system, on the persons putting it into practice, on the professional scribes and students and their copying systems. We are also informed of the control over the guild of *stationarii* exerted by the university authorities, the oath sworn by these scribes, the pre-determined price of *peciae* as well as of the whole book trade as it developed in the university centres.

These university books are of enormous interest in every way, philological and bibliographical, as literature from the aspect of the transmission of particular texts, as well as from the point of view of book publishing, meaning as to the mechanisms of making the copy available. Data have also reached our days informing us as to the route of edition of the *peciae*. An example is that professors who completed a text, a *summa* or a full cycle of lectures, once they had given it its final form handed it to a *stationarius*. He in turn copied an *exemplar* in sections per chapter, corrected them according to the writer's original and passed them to a special university committee for approval and fixing the sale price.

This was naturally not a rule for the entire European community and differed in essence according to circumstance and to period. Indeed, *stationarii* themselves were known to select which texts were of use for specific classes, thus imposing a pre-determined material for teaching by means of obscure mechanisms.

At the university of Paris, however, the process was this: the *librarii* composed and copied the chapters in multiple *peciae*, while it was the *stationarii* who kept the *exemplar* in their possession, disposing of the *peciae* at a fixed price in the form of a loan.

7. *Exemplar from De historia animalium by Aristotle, written and corrected in Paris in the peciae method at the end of the thirteenth century. Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana (Ms 5 XXIV. 4, fo. 107r).*



**The library of the College of the Sorbonne.** The archival material and the books themselves surviving in regard to the library of the College of the Sorbonne is so rich in every way that it constitutes a mirror reflecting the entire structure, its enrichment and operation.<sup>21</sup> The material also contains the Rule determined by the founder of the College, Sorbon, and quantities of other documents mentioning wills, donations of books as well as a series of catalogues of the library, dating from about 1275 and, of course, the books themselves: the most reliable testimony to the chronicle of the library.

The College of the Sorbonne was founded by Maître Robert de Sorbon (1201-1274), a cleric and of the immediate circle of the court of Louis IX.<sup>22</sup> Although Sorbon sprang from a financially deprived class he nonetheless attended lectures in theology at the university of Paris despite all the sacrifices he had to make. He proceeded to found the College, motivated by his personal experience during his student years, while having also made friends with persons who had the financial and political means for the attainment of his goal.

When the foundations of the College were established and it commenced operations in about 1257, no other educational centre of Paris had an equivalent university community: teachers and students of theology lived together, as in the abbeys and monasteries, thus sharing every facet of university life. Already prior to 1257 not only the Dominicans but also the Augustinian, Cistercians, Benedictines, Franciscans and other members of orders had set up their own schools in Paris, but the innovation of Sorbon's College was that its doors were open even to those who did not belong to any monkish order.

**The chronicle of the library.** It is not known to what extent Robert de Sorbon had endowed the nucleus of his College's library, but it was most probably not with books that could serve the ambitious educational programme of the College. However, the fact that the king of France himself considered the College as a 'benefaction' soon formed around it a circle of sponsors, prominent among them the personal physician of Queen Marguerite, Robert de Douai,<sup>23</sup> who in 1258 donated a considerable sum to the Sorbonne, sufficient to cover the free provision of books to theology students, such as bibles and *Originalia*.

At that time there were two basic sources for augmenting the library: firstly donations such as those of de Douai or the professor Nicolas de Vrigny<sup>24</sup> and secular teachers of the university's school of theology, and secondly diverse grants and legacies deriving from circles of the aristocracy and men of letters.

In the early years of operation of the College the extent of the library's contents





8. Robert de Sorbon (1201-1274), etching by Jollain.

did not immediately require classification according to the rules of library science (bibliotheconomy), while there is no evidence that books were kept in specific *armaria*. It is most probable that the books were distributed amongst the students and teachers. This seems to have changed in about 1268-1270, as the rector of the College himself, apparently, issued a regulation regarding the institution's book collection of the institution: 'That no-one should be accepted into the school unless he swear to look after books borrowed from the common collection, to treat them as his own and under no circumstances to remove them from the College to



lend to others and, finally, to return them in good condition as soon as they are asked for or in case he should leave town for any reason'. '*Pas un ne sera reçu dans la maison s'il ne prête serment de prendre soin des livres de la communauté. Il en prendra soin comme des siens, ne les déchirera en aucune façon, ne les vendra pas hors de la maison et les rendra en bon état à chaque fois qu'on le lui demandera et quand il lui arrivera de sortir en ville*'.<sup>25</sup>

In 1272 the assistant professor of theology Gérard d'Abbeville<sup>26</sup> donated a substantial collection of manuscripts to the library, radically changing its status. On the subject, d'Abbeville wrote in his will: 'It is my wish in regard to the *Summae* and the *Originalia* that they should be accessible to the lay teachers of theology as well as to members of religious orders, although they already possess a number of copies'.<sup>27</sup> The donor bequeathed an entire library numbering 300 volumes to the Sorbonne, most probably thus more than doubling its contents.<sup>28</sup> The significance of this donation, not only as to the number but also the quality and contents of the manuscripts is evidenced by the fact that many of the books came from the library of Richard de Furnival.<sup>29</sup> There were books covering every interest in the collection: texts representative of the seven liberal arts, prose and works of poetry, medical and patristic texts as well as rare works, also ancient, of literature. The bequest had specific conditions attached, enumerated in Gérard's will, and, combined with a further bequest of 70 books to swell the contents of the library at the death of Sorbon in 1274, the library of the Sorbonne now needed to be classified according to the rules of library science.

Those responsible immediately became aware that to control the library a catalogue had to be made, which was completed in the time of Guillaume de Montmorency between 1274 and 1286. Only two leaves of the catalogue have survived, which, however, give a fairly clear picture of the level of organization of the library.<sup>30</sup> The books were recorded in the catalogue by entities, most probably according to the chest in which they were kept: for instance, the *Originalia Augustini* (works of Saint Augustine) in one place and the *Originalia mixta Sanctorum* (diverse patristic texts) elsewhere. They were recorded in the catalogue with great accuracy for each volume: a) name of author and title – since many codices were mixed; b) the first words of the second and penultimate folio; c) the name of the donor of the manuscript, if known, and d) the value of the book in case it should be pawned.<sup>31</sup>

These two sources of aggrandizement of the College's library, deriving from donors and sponsors as previously mentioned, were further added to by a third, from the inner confines of the Sorbonne itself, that is from former members of the



school. From the early 1280s, Gérard de Reims (in *ca.*1283) had bequeathed thirty volumes to the library, Jean Claramboud de Gonesse at least nine and Étienne d'Abbeville some forty manuscripts in 1288.<sup>32</sup> At this rate, by the end of 1280 the library reached a number of contents of about 1,000 volumes, and in 1292 its value was estimated at 3,812 *livres parisiennes*.<sup>33</sup> The quantity of books, the rarity of texts as well as their value posed a problem: they had to be protected from theft, be available for those directly interested in consulting them, catalogued annually and be classified strictly according to the rules of library science.

The College's rectorate wasted no time. Even before Pierre de Villepreux became principal (1286) it was decided to divide the mass of books into two major parts: one for the books chained to a desk and the other for those in the hands of students and teachers. It is known from the College's archive precisely when the books were placed in a special space: it was 1289 when a room on the upper storey not far from the students' dormitories was turned into a library. There were windows the length of this long and narrow area, fitted with desks along both sides which had chains holding every manuscript. The books thus selected for 'imprisonment' in the library were texts for daily use after a fashion, such as bibles and commentaries on the scriptures, patristic texts and annotations by theologians of the day.

The organization  
of the library

Having organized the library in these two sections, in 1298 the authorities of the College proceeded to a fresh cataloguing of the manuscripts: the entire contents numbered 1,017 manuscripts. This 1298 catalogue was as detailed as the previous one already mentioned (1274-1286) and added a note for the records: each volume bore a number corresponding to each section: 'No. 8 among the books of Saint Bernard'. Books not tied with chains in the library area were kept in *armaria* and chests. The library was initially named *libraria communis*, while the remainder of the manuscripts, dispersed in the cupboards had no name. However, from the mid-fourteenth century, the former as well as the dispersed collection were given the 'title' of *magna libraria* (great library) and *parva libraria* (small library). This distinction was maintained throughout the Middle Ages, with few divergencies.<sup>34</sup>

For some thirty years, until about 1321, the library continued under this organization, whilst additional donations and bequests ever increased its reserves and wealth. Personalities are known to us whose name is connected to the history of the library and who in fact came from various European regions: Matthieu Castelet for example bequeathed manuscripts and money in his will; Godefroi de Fontaines endowed it with more than 50 manuscripts and Pierre de



Limoges, a member of the Sorbonne, enriched the College's collection with at least 120 books.<sup>35</sup>

From 1321, in parallel with the impressive increase in numbers of books finding their way to the College, those who had the right to borrow manuscripts for their personal use also increased. These were not only students, they were also alumni, students and teachers of theology of other schools as well as transitory students and members of university communities in general. This soon created a problem, which began to be acute when the members of the Sorbonne lost control and no longer knew who had what.

When Annibaldo Ceccano became principal, it was an auspicious opportunity for reforms, which included the reorganization of the library. In 1321, therefore, the decision was taken to review the organization of the 'common library' and its contents. The new rules that were drawn up made the following provisions: the most credible version of each text was to be chained in the library area; in the case of unique texts, these would also be chained, and any books of either of these categories that had already been loaned were to be returned immediately so as to be available to all.<sup>36</sup> Under the new regime, the library also acquired elected librarians who proceeded to classifications, thus facilitating the student body. The two new catalogues then constituted referred to the manuscripts in the library: the first to the books classified at each desk in alphabetical order, and the second, a general list, also alphabetical and thematic (Grammar; Logic; Philosophy; Patristic texts, etc.). The 1321 Rules also foresaw the securing of the College's book collection as regarded outside borrowers, obliging them to deposit cash guarantees or a book of equivalent value in pledge.

The fact that no catalogue of the small library (*parva libraria*) had been constituted does not mean this quantity of the College's books had been diminished, in fact, to the contrary, the first 1338 catalogue – perhaps when Pierre de Croso was the principal – was the most detailed of all. The data recorded for each volume are practically unprecedented for such registers in those days. The records, besides the usual entries mentioned names of donors, contents of the manuscript and an estimate of their value. The document therefore contained everything necessary for a full account at every level. In the mid-fourteenth century, the library of the Sorbonne College had amassed 1,720 volumes, more than 300 of which were chained to desks, leaving 1,400 books at the disposal of the student body and members of the corporation of teachers and professors.<sup>37</sup> No other library in Continental Europe or Britain of a university level had such wealth of material in books, whether in number or quality.



**The reappearance of Aristotle in the West: Philosophy and Theology.** The practice of the study of Aristotle in official university schools, as well as in minor intellectual circles constituted in the entourage of inspired teachers triggered an activity of writing and translation we can estimate only with difficulty. Firstly, what was sought was a complete corpus of Aristotle's works in Latin as well as of his commentators, whether in the West or the East and whether in Greek or Arabic. The extent of the reception given to the works of Aristotle by members of universities and intellectuals from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century may clearly be seen only from the time when printing replaced the tradition of manuscripts, as an enormous and incalculable number of manuscript books from that era has not survived.<sup>38</sup>

It is certain that the incorporation of Aristotle in the student curriculum significantly multiplied and reinforced the reserves in books of university centres as well as the personal collections of teachers and bibliophiles of the university community. A summary approach will here be attempted to the issue, with a view to point out the pioneers of the movement as well as the obstacles they encountered from the Church in their effort to proclaim Aristotle as the representative par excellence of philosophical tradition. It is established that translation of the didactic texts of the Stagirite, their interpretation and annotation led to the composition of a corpus by scholars, theologians and intellectuals, copied by the reading public and repeated by every fresh generation, which was unprecedented except for the Bible.

Until the mid-thirteenth century, the curricula of university schools were absolutely determined on the basis of the liberal arts. Candidate students did of course have to know and write Latin, and Theology did not make a difference since it was also taught, mainly in the schools of arts; and Logic alone – which had



9. Hugues de Saint-Victor, an Augustinian who died in 1142, one of the early teachers of theology in Paris: teaching took place at the abbey of St. Victor. Codex of his work *De Archa Noe*, most probably written in St. Albans, England, at the end of the twelfth century.



Auerrois Cordub. Commentum  
super phys. Artis.

cod. Col. Bern.

944.  
Regius 4969.  
3.



rudinis in omni  
bus uis hinc  
principia et causas et elementa non  
adquirunt nisi ex cognitione ista  
rum. Ordinem in unaquaque re  
quam sciri ad causas eius sciunt  
simplices et prima principia eius.  
donec perueniamus ad elementa  
eius. manifestum est quod in scientia  
naturali oportet primo querere de  
terminationem principiorum eius.  
scilicet hunc librum a causa per quam fuit  
ratio huius scilicet in cognitione causarum rerum  
naturalium. Et dicitur quod dispositio est  
declaratam et in posterum quod dispositio  
enac certe in omnibus artibus demonstratur  
considerantibus de rebus hinc unam quatuor  
causas aut plures una aut omnis ad  
cur nisi ex cognitione scilicet non intenditur  
scientiam et cognitionem hinc symon hinc  
nomina sunt nomina non uelantur in  
demonstrationibus. Et intenditur de  
pugnare certe scilicet de scientia perfecta. Sci  
entia perfecta est perfecta alia imperfecta. Et  
est perfecta illa que est per se et in se  
illa que est sine causa. Et intenditur per uias  
artem speculatiuas que dicuntur que dicuntur  
ut quod considerant in eis uadit determinationem  
rebus res terminatas et per res terminatas.  
Et dicitur principia aut causas aut elementa que  
aut speculatiuas aut suas parat sunt quod  
que considerant de rebus simplicibus et compositis  
principia et causas scilicet considerantur  
determinationem de primis principibus aut  
causis. Et dicitur principia aut elementa uel  
causas per diuersitatem modorum causarum et  
datur per principia in hoc loco causas agentes

et mouentibus causas finis et elementa causas  
que sunt partes et materiam et formam. Et  
utitur hic hoc nomine principia per se hoc nomine  
causa quia sunt finis non nomina nominatum  
utantur compositis scilicet in uideatur de  
ipsum aliquid et intenditur per hunc finem do  
cet ad non omnes artes aduersus de omni causa  
et quidam de causa finis. Et materiam et  
et quidam de rebus aut in motu et forma et  
et est scientia diuina et quidam de uis  
et scilicet natura et hoc non fuit manifestum in  
loco. Inducitur finem in finem et  
et dicitur hinc principia aut causas aut  
et quod idem sequitur siue ponatur quod ille res ha  
deant principia agentes aut finalia aut et  
ita aut omnia. Et possibile est ut hoc quicquid  
aut ut scilicet coplatua. Et in dicitur certe scilicet  
mouentur in rebus hinc causas quasdam per  
scilicet illarum causas scilicet mouentur in hinc  
causas omnes. Et cum posuit hanc hypothe  
onem inducit rationem ad uerificandum il  
la in finem inducit in posterum. Et scilicet  
et dicitur. Ordinem in unaquaque re. Et  
in finem et quod dicitur quod dicitur certe scilicet  
adquiruntur de altero uel aliquo. Et ex cognitione  
et aut est quod qui dicitur finis se scilicet aut  
non dicitur hoc nisi quando scilicet illud per omnia  
suas causas per se et remotas. Et hoc mouentur  
in omni quod autem scilicet manifestatur in uerita  
te. aut scilicet in ratione et in ista ratione ad  
uenit omnes aduersus ad quod scilicet  
et ut dicitur in posterum. Deinde dicitur ad  
uerimus causas simplices et intendit ut  
uideatur causas existentes in re primas non  
tunc autem prima formata et ueritatem  
que in finem per se primam materiam aut  
formam aut. Et scilicet sunt materiam et  
et forme et scilicet. Deinde dicitur et prima principia  
et intendit hinc ut uidetur per prima principia  
mas causas sunt extra finem. Et scilicet  
et ueritatem finem omni res de d. donec peruenit  
in ad elementa. Et intendit hinc per elemen  
ta causas existentes in re primas et scilicet  
nunc hoc per quod dicitur de rebus aut  
mouere a cognitione et in rebus et cognitione  
et. Deinde intenditur ad cognitionem aut  
rum terminatas et ordinem donec peruenit ad  
causas per se. Et scilicet hoc uidetur hinc hoc nomine  
et elementa alio modo ad eo quo uis est  
et scilicet. Et scilicet motum in hinc modum  
sollicitudinem de nominibus. Et cum posuit  
hanc materiam per se hunc finem. Et dicitur quod  
ista certa de rebus hinc causas et elementa non  
adquiruntur nisi ex cognitione causas et scilicet  
et diuersitatem in rebus et in rebus

Quod si quis dicitur  
de rebus aut  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet

Quod si quis dicitur  
de rebus aut  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet

Quod si quis dicitur  
de rebus aut  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet

Quod si quis dicitur  
de rebus aut  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet  
et scilicet



6505.



predominated in the cycle of the *trivium* from the twelfth century – became the mainstay for the institution of tuition of Philosophy, in fact isolated from the Hebrew tradition and based solely on Greek thought.

The two pillars of philosophy in the West, Plato and Aristotle had formed two distinct traditions: of the Platonic texts, with the exception of an excerpt from Plato's *Timaeus* cited by Boethius and of *Phaidrus* and *Meno* cited by Aristippus, very few of his works were known until the thirteenth century. Christian intellectuals had been content with the filtering of Platonic thought through the neo-Platonic treatment and the pen of Saint Augustine, never seeking out the original works of Plato.<sup>39</sup> Up to the fourteenth century, in theological thought the 'pragmatist' position prevailed, supported by the advocates who maintained that ideas contain a reality outwith matter. In contrast to this intra-academic base, which was not universally acknowledged, a fundamental alteration was brought about in regard to the classical tradition aptly characterized by the most significant developments in the intellectual history of the West: the incorporation of Aristotle's works in the basic study programmes of the European universities. This was decisive, as was pointed out initially, in the radical alteration of the pan-European map of publishing.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, it could be maintained that Aristotle was even less well known than Plato, with the exception of Byzantine tradition as it had been shaped in the monastic circles of Southern Italy and Sicily. Peter Abelard, with particular esteem, referred to Aristotle as 'The Philosopher' and was evidently aware of his works on Logic, from Latin translations obviously.<sup>40</sup> Anyway, as things stand as to the circulation of Aristotelian texts, as early as one century later, in the mid-thirteenth that is, the entire known corpus of the works of Aristotle had been translated.<sup>41</sup>

The Church placed no obstacles in the way of the reading and study of Aristotelian texts by theology students, considering them sufficiently mature to comprehend and distinguish the limits of Aristotelian thought. In 1215 nevertheless, the pope prohibited the teaching of Aristotle to the younger students at the liberal arts schools of Paris. This prohibition of course did not halt the study of Aristotelian works and merely obliged students wishing to study them to do so in their free time. About ten years later, in 1225, Pope Alexander IV was forced to abro-

*The incorporation  
of the study  
of Aristotle  
in the university  
curriculum*

10. *Historiated initial in a miniature in a manuscript of Aristotle's Metaphysics with comments by Averroes and anonymous marginal notes of the fourteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms lat. 6505, fo. 1).*



gate the prohibition imposed by his predecessor and furthermore to accept the works of Aristotle as the base of the *trivium*. And some hundred years later, in 1366, Paris university revised the organogram of the curriculum, incorporating into the *quadrivium* also, the obligatory teaching of the entire body of Aristotle's works, indeed as a fundamental prerequisite for granting a licence for the operation of a school.

**New books in the service of education: the 'synopses'.** When thirteenth-century intellectuals rediscovered the texts of Greek antiquity – mainly the philosophical – they began feeling that they were crossing the threshold of a universal reconciliation of knowledge of the material world with the dogmas of religious faith.<sup>42</sup> The Dominicans unconditionally accepted Aristotelian philosophy – to a degree also because the Franciscans rejected it. In fact, to render Aristotle's works more intelligible they wrote *summae*, that is treatises in dialogue form aspiring to constitute the 'supreme' views on all the subjects treated.<sup>43</sup> Also of significance for the comprehension of Aristotle's works was the contribution of the Dominican monk from Cologne, Albertus Magnus, who taught at Paris also.<sup>44</sup> The *Summa Theologiae* he composed aimed at separating the authentic Aristotelian text from Averroes's additions and giving rationalised answers from Greek metaphysics in the framework of Christian teachings.<sup>45</sup> His most famous pupil, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) who in his *Summa contra Gentiles* elaborated a Christian philosophy seen in the light of Aristotle's *Categories* but based on the dialectic method as contained in Christian sources that brook no interpretation.<sup>46</sup> Aquinas's 'Christian Aristotelianism' did not go unscathed: thirteen of his postulations being condemned as heretical by the bishop of Paris in 1270, but it is not accidental that all his critics were Franciscan, headed by the order's Minister General, Saint Bonaventure.<sup>47</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the impact of Aristotle's works both through the *pecia* system and the other marginal annotations of the lectures of those days, from the mid-thirteenth century onward. It is however worth attempting to point out the repercussions of this teaching through another route: not only did the translations of Albertus Magnus remain timely for more than two centuries – until the early sixteenth century – but the incontrovertible data provided by the period of incunabula enable us to maintain that they were adopted by scholars studying theology and philosophy to a greater degree than any other treatment of Aristotelian works – extrapolated to some 30,000 copies. In approximately 15 years, from 1480 to 1500, at least 35 separate editions of his, with texts



by Aristotle and 167 diverse other philosophical and theological texts circulated, such as the *Summa de creaturis*, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* and the *Secreta mulierum et virorum cum commento*, which last alone ran into 47 editions.<sup>48</sup>

**The triumph of Logic.** The fact that in the early Middle Ages and up to the period of institution of cathedral schools, learning was the monopoly of the clergy mainly, played a decisive role in the institution of a programme of education. In addition, not one of these schools was able to impose a curriculum lasting through the ages, most often acquiring a circumstantial fame thanks to inspired teachers. On the other hand, the subjects included in the seven liberal arts were taught as an exception in these centres. The situation did not change from one moment to another but by stages, on the one hand with systematic tuition in theology at a scientific level and on the other by adopting a similar scientific approach to canon and civil law, as the younger students at the 'university' centres eventually made their career in secular life, which is to say outside the bonds of the Church.

The vast movement of reform in education at a high level came about with the acquiescence of the Holy See for inclusion of the teaching of Logic in the curriculum of studies of the seven liberal arts. Tuition with relation to 'Logic' of course predominated in the *trivium* cycle in the course of the twelfth century but, with Anselm of Bec, Logic was employed as proof in issues resolved until then by theology alone, such as the nature



11. The teacher of the Universe: Albertus Magnus, portrait by Tommaso de Modena. Archbishopric of Treviso.



of God and the role of human logic in the revelation of eternal truth, appearing in his most important writings such as the *Monologion* and *Proslogion*. Although at that time Anselm attributed a particular role to the mechanisms of Logic he never, as a man of the Church, ceased subjecting it to faith. The point of reference for the interpretation of phenomena explainable through rational processes, based on logic, was Aristotle.<sup>49</sup>

**Abelard and his progressive school.** It is Peter Abelard (1079-1142) who, as Anselm's outstanding pupil undertook to further the latter's teaching in regard to the place of Logic in philosophical systems and theology at Paris as well as at other progressive schools.<sup>50</sup> His life and works read like a novel and we are fortunate in that we have a wealth of original material since his autobiography has survived, aptly entitled: *The Story of my Calamities*.

The eldest son of a Breton aristocrat, from an early age Abelard opted to follow the itinerant intellectuals and peripatetic teachers rather than multiply the fortune possessed by his family. From his first steps as student he demonstrated his innate tendency for self-promotion, embarrassing both the audience and the teacher as he was firmly convinced of his superiority over all others. He went to Paris at the age of 31, declaring war upon the Establishment, that is by entering into conflict with the famous Parisian professor Guillaume de Champeaux.<sup>51</sup> His academic opponents forced him to leave Paris but were unable to muzzle him as his supporters followed him to Melun and later to Corbeil, where he started his own school. To recover his powers, Abelard had to take a short retreat in Brittany. He then returned to Paris and continued his open warfare with Guillaume, resulting in the latter taking his contradictions seriously, modifying certain controversial points of his teaching. Abelard did not however stop there, continuing his mordant comments, ending in his being once more obliged to leave Paris. He returned to Melun and continued teaching an audience comprising all those who attended Guillaume de Champeaux's lectures. Guillaume abandoned his chair at Paris and Abelard returned in triumph to the site where his persecutor had taught, on the hill of Sainte-Geneviève, where he went on teaching.<sup>52</sup>

The peaceful life of the teacher did not grip him, he sought fresh emotions and literary battles of wits and therefore turned on the theologians and the esteem they enjoyed on the part of all those who considered them incontrovertible authorities. He returned to the school bench and studied theology at Laon under Anselm, the most renowned theologian of his day. But the teacher was an old man by then and no longer in a position to give satisfactory answers, and Abelard indeed re-

An intellectual  
at the forefront  
of political events



proached him for giving his students answers that did nothing but increase their uncertainties and doubts. Abelard took over his teaching, his audience multiplied – he had answers to everything – and now convinced that his mind was an inexhaustible source of knowledge, went back to Paris.

Abelard's public followed him faithfully everywhere and gave him a triumphant reception. However, although everything indicated an unimpeded teaching career, his romantic relationship with Héloïse was to bring about a change in his reputation with the well known aftermath.<sup>53</sup> It resulted in Abelard, emasculated and vilified, retiring to the Abbey of Saint Denis (Dionysius) where he pulled himself together and soon regained his fighting spirit. His students called to him once more from all sides and, for their satisfaction, he wrote his first theological treatise.<sup>54</sup> The work met with instant acclaim and its widespread acceptance roused theologians to reach the point of convening a conference at Soissons – which



12. Miniature in the manuscript *Novella super decretalibus* showing the school of Giovanni Andrea. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Lat. 1456, fo. 1).



they called a 'Council' – with the aim of condemning him. The decision for his condemnation was a foregone conclusion, and according to the established practices of the Holy Inquisition Abelard was convicted, the *Sic et Non* consigned to fire and he himself forced to end his days in a monastery.

He elected to return to Saint Denis and there he bickered with the monks in regard to Dionysius the Areopagite, the first bishop of Paris, once more causing a climate of war. He abandoned the abbey and took refuge nearby with the bishop of Troyes who allotted him a hermitage at Nogent-sur-Seine. It was an estate where Abelard built a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, as was incidentally also his 'sinful' book. His hiding-place did not remain a secret, his followers tracking him down and camping near him in rough and ready camps. The serene life he led in the midst of his followers did not last long and was abruptly cut short by two 'new apostles' as he called them, Norbert, founder of the order of the Premonstratensian Order and St. Bernard, the reformer of Cîteaux. They persecuted him so thoroughly that he seriously thought of fleeing to the Orient, to the Saracens. This extreme solution was averted, he was appointed abbot to an abbey in Brittany where once again he felt discomfort with the spiritual level of the monks and, to avoid the worst outcome he left the abbey in 1132.

Some four years later (1136), Abelard was again teaching at the familiar rooms on the hill of Sainte-Geneviève, before a dense and enthusiastic audience. He continued writing at the same time, whilst his enemies too continued to lie in wait for him, launching a fresh attack in 1140. This time St. Bernard was the accuser, who in essence administered Christianity in concert with the pope.<sup>55</sup> St. Bernard went to Paris, meeting Abelard and attempting to win his audience over, but to no avail. A fresh assembly was convened, attended by theologians, bishops and synod members in order to judge him. All the strings were however pulled behind closed doors, and in the wake of machinations and bartering St. Bernard was able to extract Abelard's conviction by the Pope, his books consigned to the flames in St. Peter's Square.

Abelard took refuge at Cluny, Peter the Venerable reconciled him with St. Bernard, the excommunication was revoked and Abelard went to the abbey of St. Marcel near Chalon-sur-Saône where his life ended in 1142.

**The works of Abelard.** An outstanding place in the history of Western medieval philosophy is held by Abelard's *Sic et Non* (Yes and No), in which in essence he systematizes the method of intellectual reflection. The book, which will



probably have been finished in 1122, differs from the usual in that it does not have the final stage of conclusion, that is to say the reconciliation between the sources and the adoption of a specific position.<sup>56</sup> It is actually a 'book of exercises' with 158 questions to which he juxtaposes apparently opposite sources referring to them. People may be expressing themselves in good faith, the copiers may make mistakes, different words may have the same meaning and in a translation a subtle shade of meaning may be lost. The Bible alone is above any contestation, while every other official writing is nothing but the work of mortals. These positions alone of Abelard's sufficed, in his day, to smack of heresy in theologian circles, which is to say that there were contradictions in the commonly accepted official texts.

**Books and intellectuals in the circle of the court at Tours.** It is not only the books and libraries that in about 1150 testify to the spirit reigning in the court of the North, even the troubadours, who were cheered by the public of Brittany and Berry, attracted audiences to listen to their songs in the French language such as Jaufré de Rudel's *Quan lo rius de la Fontana*.<sup>57</sup> These are the years of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, who between 1152 and 1174 played a decisive role in cultivating a climate of culture among the provinces with differing language idioms (*langue d'oc and langue d'oïl*). Although her husband Henry II, king of England, was surrounded by men of letters who spoke Latin such as John of Salisbury, Pierre de Blois, Giraud de Barri and others, Eleanor showed preference for those who used and wrote in the colloquial language.<sup>58</sup> Almost all the troubadours of the day frequented her court, as evidenced by dedicatory prologues by Chrétien de Troyes, Gace Brulé and others, who may also have written works for Marie de Champagne (1138-1198), Eleanor's daughter, who will without doubt have collected a personal library.<sup>59</sup>

Henry I the Liberator, on the other hand openly preferred the works of Roman historians as well as texts of Christian literature.<sup>60</sup> A catalogue dating to the fourteenth century enables a reconstitution of his library, referring to manuscripts of the Palatine church of St. Stephen of Troyes.<sup>61</sup> Among them, probably belonging to his personal collection, there are works by Livy, Valerius Maximus, Flavius Josephus, Macrobius. These manuscripts contain indications as to their origins: most were written and illuminated at Troyes by local copyists, while others came from Thomas à Becket's circle of scholars.<sup>62</sup>











**A bibliophile official of the Church: Richard de Furnival.** The life and adventures of Richard de Furnival tell of a passion for book-collecting and the setting up of a library capable of absolutely satisfying the intellectual interests of a man of letters. They are reminiscent of the life spent with books of another man of the Church, who also had the good fortune to be able to satisfy his obsession with books, Lupus de Ferrières,<sup>63</sup> in the steps of whom, about four hundred years later, Richard de Furnival seems to have followed.

He was born in Amiens in 1201 and studied medicine at Paris, in fact initially practising as a surgeon. His interests were subsequently broadened and he attended courses in astronomy and mathematics, and was endowed with a poetic bent apparent in his writings. He chose a life in the Church and was soon appointed chancellor at the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame at Amiens. In parallel with his other duties he was occupied with constructing a representative library of works of secular and Christian literature, with the objective of creating an open institution – a public library – in his birthplace. Furnival employed every means to compose his collection and was constantly buying manuscripts from Paris and other parts of Northern France, many of which in fact bear the names of their previous owners.<sup>64</sup> Between 1235 and 1250 he added some thirty manuscripts to his collection and in 1250 acquired a considerable number of manuscripts of theology, bought from professional scriptoria. He died at the age of 58 in 1260, before he was able to realize his dream for a public library in his place of birth and without making provision for his collection.

The books passed into the possession of Gérard d'Abbeville, who in turn donated this treasure, which comprised his own collection of manuscripts, to the College of the Sorbonne in 1272.<sup>65</sup> Furnival's collection must have contained some 300 manuscripts and, for those days, represented a library of equal value to other rich monastery libraries, also considering the rarity of some of them.

Furnival's poetic vein led him to compose a secret catalogue of his library entitled *Biblionomia*.<sup>66</sup> With the aim of advising his fellow-citizens and arousing their interest in cultivating their letters, he presents his library as an elaborate garden in which diverse branches of knowledge are sited in specific arrangement. In the light of such love for books there was almost no omission in this 'paradise of knowledge', whether at the theoretical or the practical level, such as works of: philoso-



13. The great gallery of St. Geneviève's library as it was in the eighteenth century. Engraving signed by Lagardette. It is the library of the abbey of that name, built on exactly the site of older buildings where Abelard had taught.

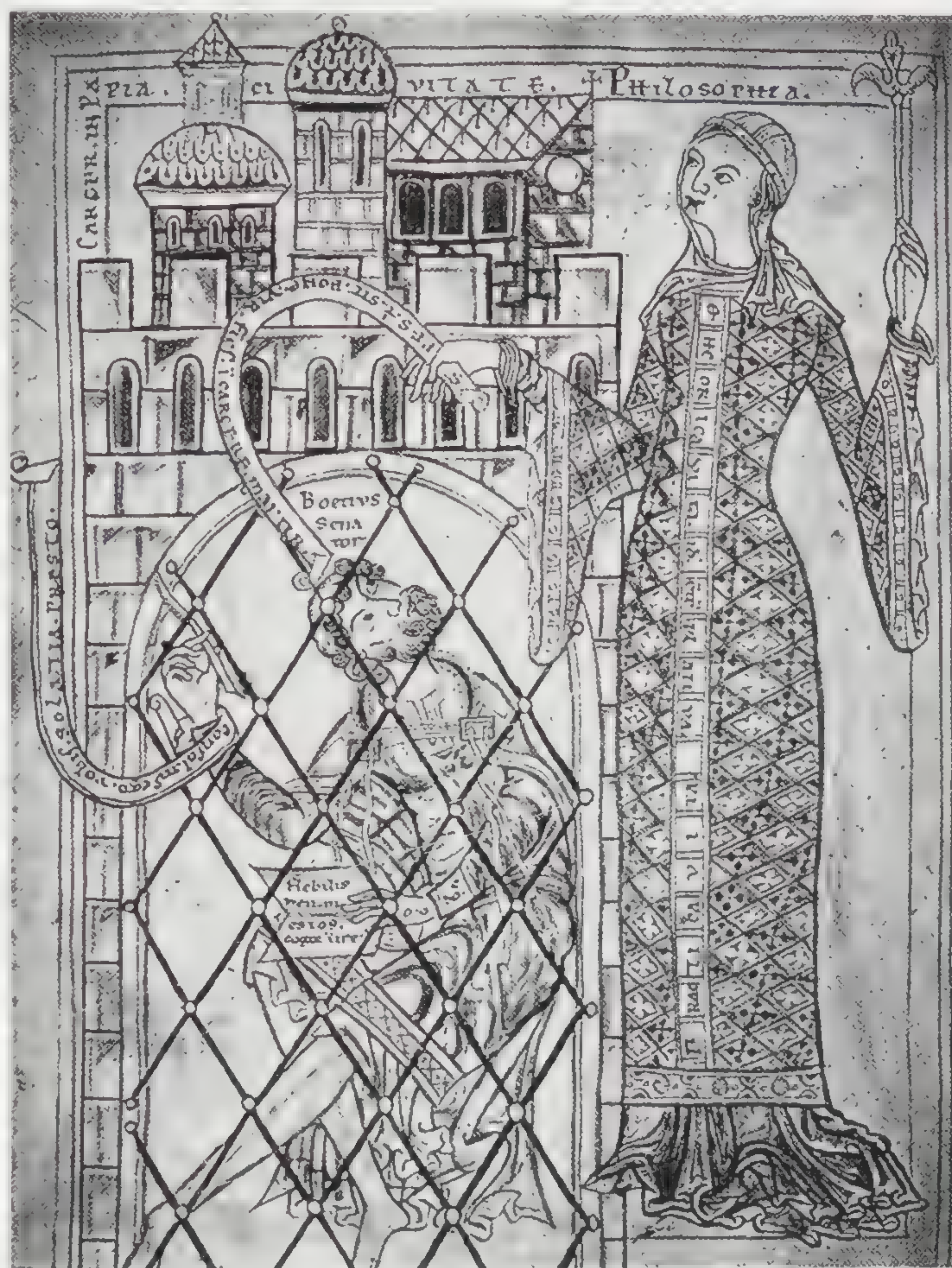


phy, history, poetry, travelogues, chronicles, epics, the theatre, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, canon law, theology and patristic texts. There are also among the titles – which was extremely rare at the time – works of Arab authors such as Avicenna, al-Kindi, al-Farabi and others. It must also be mentioned that Furnival's library also contained rare copies of works from antiquity such as three manuscripts of the group of poetic works (*opera poetarum*) of Tibullus, Propertius and Seneca the Younger.<sup>67</sup>

**Libraries of Church officials.** Various members of the aristocracy occupying secular and ecclesiastic posts, indeed places as high as archbishops did not only have a wide range of intellectual pursuits but also put together notable libraries which, as was said above, reached the libraries of bishoprics and monastic centres.

In Normandy alone, for instance, Rotrou de Warwick, bishop of Evreux and then archbishop of Rouen (1164-1193) bequeathed 11 manuscripts to the Rouen cathedral library and one at least to the bishopric of Evreux.<sup>68</sup> Arnoul, bishop of Lisieux (1141-1181), who died in 1182, in his will left his books to the abbey of St. Victor in Paris where he was in retreat after leaving his bishopric.<sup>69</sup>

But the most important library in this class was constituted by the scion of a great noble family of Normandy, Philippe d'Harcourt. He was born in about 1100 and chose a career in the Church, elected dean of the school of Lincoln and chancellor of England (1139-1140) in the reign of Stephen.<sup>70</sup> He was subsequently bishop of Salisbury in 1140 and in 1142 Geoffrey Plantagenet appointed him to the bishopric of Bayeux where, with matchless activity, he succeeded in multiplying the treasures of the bishopric and enriching its library.



14. Sketch depicting Boethius and Philosophy, with a monastery in the Byzantine style in the background. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (CLM 2599, fo. 106v).



MAGISTER HUGO.





The extent and the contents of Philippe d'Harcourt's library are known from a register drawn up just after his death in 1163.<sup>71</sup> In his will, Philippe bequeathed 140 volumes to the abbey founded by the Norman knight Harluin in 1039 at Bec (Le Bec Hellouin). The catalogue, methodically and thematically constituted, reveals above all the interests of a lover of books vastly exceeding the needs and questioning of a dignitary of the Church and man of letters. The library's greater parts consisted of books on theology (patristic texts), law, works of Roman literature (mainly Cicero and Seneca) and history.

The composition of such a library demonstrates d'Harcourt's broader encyclopaedic scope, although, being politically-minded, he gave no time to writing about his spiritual questioning. This does not of course mean that he was not interested in the works of his contemporaries such as the renowned Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers, from whom d'Harcourt acquired a manuscript with the latter's annotations of Boethius's *De trinitate* and the *Historia Anglorum* by Henry of Huntingdon whom he will have known while at Lincoln. D'Harcourt moreover frequently travelled to Rome, four times in fact between 1144 and 1150, where he probably purchased a number of manuscripts for sale there.<sup>72</sup>

The collection bequeathed by d'Harcourt to the abbey of Bec must have almost doubled the number of manuscripts housed at this monastic library. Its original catalogue has been lost, but there exists a copy to which one more register was added, drawn up in 1200, cataloguing 166 manuscripts under the title *Tituli librorum Becensis armarii* which might refer to the catalogue of books in the library before d'Harcourt's bequest.<sup>73</sup>

Philippe  
d'Harcourt's  
library

15. Hugues de Saint-Victor writing his Didascalion. Leyden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit (Vulcanius 45, fo. 130).







NOTES

VI

The University World







## NOTES

1. See J. Verger, «La mobilité étudiante au Moyen Âge», *Bibliographie d'histoire de l'éducation Française. Titres parus au cours de l'année 1988 et suppléments des années antérieures*, 51-52 (1991), 65-90; *Id.*, 'Peregrinatio Academica', tr. E. Brizzi, *Le Università dell'Europa. Gli uomini e i luoghi. Secoli XII-XVIII*, G.P. Brizzi – J. Verger (eds.), Silvana Editoriale, 1993, 109-135.
2. His real name is unknown. The fame he gained is owed to his laudatory poetry in Latin, glorifying Frederick's deeds in Italy. See Curtius, I, 72.
3. On the university centres see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.M. Powicke – A.B. Emden, 3 vols., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1936; L.J. Daly, *The Medieval University 1200-1400*, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1961; Helene Wieruszowski, *The Medieval University*, Princeton, D. van Nostrand, 1966 and G. Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1968.
4. See P.O. Kristeller, *Studi sulla scuola medica salernitana*, reissue, Napoli, 1986 and J. Agrimi – Chiara Crisciani, 'La medicina scolastica: dalla scuola di Salerno alle facoltà Universitarie', *Le Università dell'Europa. Le scuole e i maestri. Il Medioevo*, ed. G.P. Brizzi – J. Verger, Silvana Editoriale, 1994, 241-276.
5. See Agrimi – Crisciani, 'La medicina', *op. cit.*, 243-245.
6. See J. Verger, 'I principi pedagogici: La scrittura, l'oralità, il gesto', *Le Università dell'Europa... Il Medioevo*, *op. cit.*, 47.
7. See A. Sorbelli, *Storia dell'Università di Bologna*, vol. 1, *Il Medioevo (secc. XI-XV)*, Bologna 1940 and R. Feenstra, 'L'insegnamento del diritto civile a Bologna e la sua diffusione nell'Europa Occidentale', *Le Università dell'Europa... Il Medioevo*, *op. cit.*, 181-209.
8. See p. 281.
9. See p. 281.
10. See *The History of the University of Oxford*, I: *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J.I. Catto, Oxford, 1984 and II: *Late Medieval Oxford*, J.I. Catto – R. Evans (eds.), Oxford 1992.
11. See E.M. Meijers, 'L'Université d'Orléans au XIII siècle', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsge-scheidnis*, 1-2 (1918-1921), tr. R. Feenstra – H.F.W.D. Fischer, Leiden 1959 and A. Gouron, *La science du droit dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge*, London, Variorum Peprints, 1984.
12. See J.M. Fletcher, 'La facoltà d'Arti', *Le Università dell'Europa... Il Medioevo*, *op. cit.*, 103-138.
13. See M. Félibien – G.A. Lobineau, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, vol. 5, Paris 1725, 690.
14. See M. Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fonda-tion jusqu'en 1789*, vols. I-IV, Paris 1890-1894, (II, No. 1463, 614).
15. See Fournier, *Les statuts*, II, No. 885, *op. cit.*, 8.
16. See Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, 'Livres d'étudiants, bibliothèques de col-lèges et d'universités', *HBF*, 93-94.
17. See L. Gargan, 'Il libro per l'Università', *Le Università dell'Europa... Il Medioevo*, *op. cit.*, 73, 75.
18. See in general R.H. Rouse – Mary A. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris,



- ca. 1250 - ca. 1350', *La production du Livre Universitaire au Moyen Âge. Exemplar et Pecia, Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. L.J. Bataillon – B.G. Guyot – R.H. Rouse, Paris, CNRS 1991, 41-44 and J.-Fr. Genest, 'Les fonds Juridique d'un stationnaire italien a la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: matériaux nouveaux pour servir à l'histoire de la pecia', *La production*, 133-154.
19. See pp. 76-77.
  20. See the pioneering work by J. Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1935 which, as far as I know, was not completed according to the archive kept by Destrez, which comprised some 15.000 manuscripts. Of the most significant contributions to the study of the peciae is that of K. Christ, 'Petia: Ein Kapitel mittelalterlicher Buchgeschichte', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 55 (1938), 1-44, as well as G. Fink-Errera, 'Une institution du monde médiéval: la "pecia"', *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 60 (1962), 184-243. On this practice in England see G. Pollard, 'The University and the Book Trade in Mediaeval Oxford', *Miscellanea mediaevalia*, vol. III, Berlin 1964, 336-244.
  21. See R.H. Rouse, 'The Early Library of the Sorbonne', *Scriptorium* 21 (1967), 42-71 and 226-251, tbl. 5, 17-18; P. Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1965-1966. R.H. Rouse – Mary A. Rouse, 'La bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne', *HBF*, 112-123.
  22. See J. Verger, 'Robert de Sorbon', *DMA* 7 (1994), 911-912.
  23. With the same Christian name as Robert de Sorbon, Robert de Douai, a cleric at the court of the Prince of Achaia, also donated his possessions in 1260 to the Sorbonne, among which were manuscripts worth 70 livres parisiennes. The executor of his will was Gérard d'Abbeville, who also donated his library to the Sorbonne as will be seen below. Regarding Furnival, see pp. 292-293.
  24. See R.H. Rouse – M. Rouse, 'La bibliothèque', *op. cit.*, 114.
  25. See Glorieux, *Aux origines*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 181-184.
  26. On G. d'Abbeville see also p. 306.
  27. See Glorieux, *Aux origines*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 355 and on the *vidimus* of his will see *ibid*, 354-358.
  28. See R.H. Rouse – M. Rouse, 'La bibliothèque', *op. cit.*, 115.
  29. See pp. 306-307.
  30. This catalogue, comprised in the codex ms. lat. 16412 of the B.N., fol. 323-324v<sup>o</sup>, is thought to have been composed in ca. 1275.
  31. See R.H. Rouse – M. Rouse, 'La bibliothèque', *op. cit.*, 116.
  32. *Ibid*.
  33. *Ibid*.
  34. *Ibid*, 119.
  35. *Ibid*.
  36. See Glorieux, *Aux origines*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 214-215.
  37. See R.H. Rouse – M. Rouse, 'La bibliothèque', *op. cit.*, 120.
  38. The translations of the Aristotelian corpus, mainly into Latin, until 1500 counted at least 182 self-contained editions, the first having been printed in Lyon (Opera), perhaps in 1468 by a well known printer (GW II, Sp. 561). These also include the *editio princeps* in the original (GW 2334). Editions of the commentators and interpreters thereof constitute a body of 370 self-contained editions and about 250.000 copies: hence a total of 552 books.
  39. See p. 62.
  40. See Petrus Abaelardus, *Dialectica*, ed. L.M. de Rijk, Assen 1970<sup>2</sup>, 153.
  41. See in general F. van Steenberghen, *Aris-*



- totle in the West: The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism*, tr. L. Johnston, Louvain, E. Nauwelaerts, 1955 and D.E. Luscombe, *Medieval Thought* [= *Ἡ Μεσαιωνικὴ Σκέψη*] in Greek translation by Chr. Gemeliaris, ed. G. Maniatis, Athens, Polytropon, 2007, 91 ff.
42. See the classic by Jacques Le Goff, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* [= *Οἱ Διανοούμενοι στὸ Μεσαίωνα*] in Greek translation by Maria Paradelli, Athens, Kedros, 2002 and Luscombe, *Medieval Thought*, op. cit., 91 ff.
43. The quantity of books coming from the university centres from the thirteenth century on is huge, as written texts are calculated in addition to the *disputationes* (disputations), *questiones* (issues) and the *summae* (summaries). Other than the secular professors teaching the liberal arts and advanced theological and legal sciences as well as medicine, there were also teachers from the various religious orders, such as Mendicant, Carmelite, and Premonstratensian monks. These orders, initially pledged to the ideals of poverty and imitation of Christ, were incorporated in the course of the years in the field of university education. Numerous eminent scholars in the thirteenth century and later derived from the circle of the orders, such as: Alexander Halensis, Ioannes de Rupella and Robertus Grossetesta who, albeit a lay teacher, taught the Franciscan *studium* of Oxford. On Grossetesta, whose contribution to the translation of Aristotelian texts had an incalculable influence on the subsequent generations, see. L. Baur (ed.), *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 9, Münster 1912.
44. This Dominican monk (1193/1206-1280), when he came to Paris in about 1240, was occupied with compiling two very voluminous encyclopaedic texts: on containing the entire Aristotelian corpus on Logic, Ethics, Metaphysics, Psychology and Natural Philosophy and the other containing the *summa* of Theology with the title *De creaturis* (*On Creation*).
45. See generally A. de Libera, *Albert le Grand et la philosophie*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1990.
46. See in the extensive relative bibliography J.A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquinas: His Life, Thought and Works*, Washington, D.C., 1983 and A.-M. Landry – D. Hughes – B. Davies, *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1992. On the translation of the *Summa Contra Gentiles* see A.C. Pegis, et als. (eds.), *On the Truth of Catholic Faith*, 5 vols., New York 1955-1957.
47. The commentaries, positions, interpretations and lectures of intellectuals at Paris on Aristotelian philosophy and their significance in the comprehension of God, provoked disputes and wrangling going as far as committing murder: e.g, Sigerus de Brabantia (*ca.* 1240-1281/4), a distinguished member of the Paris School of Liberal Arts in 1260 and 1270. Clashing with the Aquinas and vigorously supporting Averroes, in 1276 he was denounced as a heretic by Simon du Val, Inquisitioner of France and murdered by a fanatic priest in Italy; see F. van Steenberghen, *Maître Siger de Brabant*, Louvain 1977.
48. The older written work by Albert the Great on the Aristotelian corpus is subtitled *De caelo et mundo* and printed in 1480 in Venice. Of the 34 emaining editions by him, most were published in Italy, also in Venice. The remaining six were printed in Leipzig (2) Cologne; Lerida, Barcelona and Toulouse. The last, printed under the title



- Philosophia pauperum*, circulated in about 1480, for account of Johann Schilling (GW 708); see M. Flodr, *Incunabula Classicorum. Wiegendrucke der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Amsterdam, Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1973, 39-42.
49. Anselm, the most renowned pupil of Lanfrancus, was also abbot of Bec in Normandy before 1093, when he became archbishop. In his works, Anselm treats the core dogmas of the Christian faith, upon which he cogitates, using Logic and grammar as instruments; see his writings *Monologion* –written in 1076– and *Proslogion*, as well as on the Grammar Teacher (*De grammatico*) see J. Hopkins – H.W. Richardson, *Anselm of Canterbury, I: Monologion, Proslogion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998 and P.D. Henry, *The 'De Grammatico' of St. Anselm: The Theory of Paronymy*, Indiana, The University of Notre Dame, 1964.
  50. In the very extensive bibliography on his life and works, reading like a novel, see *Abélard en son temps*, Actes du Colloque international de Nantes, Paris 1979, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1981; *The Story of Abelard's Adversities*, tr. J.T. Muckle, Toronto 1954 and on the Latin text, *Pierre Abélard: Historia calamitatum*, ed. J. Monfrin, Paris 1962<sup>2</sup>.
  51. Abelard recounts the adventures he encountered because of his disputes in his autobiography; see *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, tr. B. Radice, Harmondsworth, Penguin Classics, 1974, 60.
  52. See D.E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: the Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period*, Cambridge 1969.
  53. See the classic by E. Gilson, *Héloïse et Abélard*, Paris, Vrin, 1964<sup>3</sup> and Mt. Fumagalli – B. Brocchieri, *Eloisa e Abelardo*, Milan, Mondadori, 1984.
  54. In his *Theologia* as well as many other theological works, Abelard tries to point out the limits of language and the imperfection of words attempting to describe God and the Holy Trinity; see *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica*, I-III, *Corpus Christianorum*, E.M. Buytaert – C. Mews (eds.), *Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 11-13, Brepols, Turnholt, 1969 (first and second), 1987.
  55. See J. Verger – J. Jolivet, *Bernard Abélard, le clôître ou l'école*, Paris, Fayad-Marne, 1982.
  56. See *Peter Abailard: Sic et Non*, ed. B. Boyer – R. Mckeen, Chicago 1976-1977.
  57. See M. Stanesco, 'Courtoisie et société de cour au Moyen Âge', *Histoire de la France littéraire. Naissances Renaissances. Moyen-Âge -XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Lestringant – M. Zink, Paris, PUF, 2006, 632 (= *HFL*). On the troubadours see Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon – Claudie Duhamel-Amado, *Au temps des troubadours, XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Hachette, 1997.
  58. See Rita Lejeune, 'Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille', *Cultura neolatina* XIV (1954), 5-57; Régine Pernoud, *Aliénor d'Aquitaine*, Paris, Aebin Michel, 1965; J. Benton, 'The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center', *Speculum* 36 (1961), 551-559 and Stanesco, 'Courtoisie', *op. cit.*, 632.
  59. See G. Gros, 'Le Lyrisme. I. Lyrique au Moyen Âge', *HFL*, 898.
  60. See Patricia Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières et privées aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles', *HBf*, 177 and especially J. Benton, 'The Court of Champagne under Henry the Liberal and Countess Marie', doctoral dissertation (unpublished), Princeton, 1959, 190-206.
  61. See Patricia Stirnemann, 'Quelques bibliothèques princières et la production hors



- scriptorium au xiie siècle', *Bulletin archéologique*, n.s. 17-18A (1984), 7-38 and especially 21 ff.
62. During his exile in France, Becket amassed a substantial library, according to his biographer W. FitzStephen, *The Life and Death*. The chronicler William of Canterbury, testifies that when Becket returned to England he brought with him 'bibliothecam vero, quam cismarinis interim partibus deponere decreveram, una mecum transferre'. See Ch. F.R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade*, Woodbridge, 1985.
63. On Lupus de Ferrières see p. 205.
64. See L.D. Reynolds – N.G. Wilson, *Copiers and Philologists. The history of the tradition of classical texts* [= *Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ Φιλόλογοι. Τὸ ἱστορικὸ τῆς παράδοσης τῶν κλασικῶν κειμένων*] in greek translation by N.M. Panagiotakis, Athens, MIET, 1981, 140-142 and Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières', *op. cit.*, 181-184.
65. See p. 292.
66. The catalogue of the books was published by L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. 2, Paris 1874, 518-535. See also P. Glorieux, 'Études sur la Biblionomia de Richard de Fournival', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 30 (1963), 205-231; R.H. Rouse, 'The Early Library', *op. cit.*, 47-51; *Id.*, 'Manuscripts belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973), 253-269; see also A. Birkenmajer, 'La bibliothèque de Richard de Fournival', *Études d'histoire des sciences et de la philosophie au Moyen Âge. Studia Copernicana* I, 1970, 117-210 (French translation) from article in Polish of 1922.
67. See Reynolds – Wilson, *Copiers*, *op. cit.*, 140-141.
68. See in general the article by Patricia Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières', *op. cit.*, 174, 176 and particularly p. 174. The catalogue of the Rotrou collection was published among others also by L. Delisle, 'Documents sur les livres et les bibliothèques au Moyen Âge', *B.E.C.* 11 (1849), 216-231.
69. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 211.
70. On Ph. d'Harcourt, see V. Bourrienne, *Un grand bâtisseur, Philippe de Harcourt, évêque de Bayeux (1142-1163)*, Paris 1930 and S. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages. The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936.
71. See F. Ravaisson, *Rapports au Ministre de l'instruction publique sur les Bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest*, Paris, 1841, *Appendice*, 389-395 (= *PL*, 150, 778-782) and for a more detailed study and estimate of the library, see Geneviève Nortier-Marchand, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie. Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont St. Michel, St. Évrout, Lyre, Jumièges, St. Wandrille, St. Quen*, Caen, 1966 and R.H. Rouse – Mary A. Rouse, 'Potens in opere et sermone: Philip, Bishop of Bayeux and his books', *Authentic witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Notre Dame, IN, 1991, 33-59.
72. See Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières', *op. cit.*, 174.
73. On the problems and lack of continuity in these catalogues as well as in equating diverse codices, see Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières', *op. cit.*, 174, 176.







VII

LATE  
MEDIEVAL AGES







## LATE MEDIEVAL AGES

### *Libraries of intellectuals, Royal collections, the Papal Library of Avignon and of Hereford Cathedral*

**F**rom the mid-thirteenth century already, if not earlier, samples of humanistic trends have been traced in the studies and fields of interest of specific men of letters such as Richard de Furnival. These were not characteristics of his alone, they were also those of his broader circle, since there were those who openly expressed their questioning and in many ways contributed to all his activity in the issue of re-estimation, mainly of Roman literature. Furnival is however not the only one nor is he an isolated instance: in many monastic centres, diocesan schools and university circles teachers, poets and intellectuals generally at times expressed and created works whose criteria were entirely humanistic.

Earlier than the times of Furnival, William of Malmesbury (who died in about 1143) included works by Cicero, excerpts from books by Julius Caesar, Livy, Suetonius, Plautus and Petronius in the outstanding library he had put together and he was the first to quote from Seneca's *Epistles*. His writings had strongly defended the classics through the excerpts from the *Hortensius* and *De Republica* that he had collected with typical diligence from the writings of St. Augustine. Lovato Lovati (1241-1309), considered the forerunner of humanism together with members of his circle in Padua brought nothing further to the discovery of ancient Roman literature than their precursors, it was simply that their activity comes at the same time as the period when the search for the Roman written production took on other dimensions as well as being taught at all levels of education<sup>1</sup> and, mainly, from the time when the Greek language began to be taught systematically and ancient Greek literature, poetry and philosophy was translated, into Latin especially.

During Edward III's reign (1327-1377) in England a number of the approximately eighty-five bishops appointed were men of letters and had private collec-

*Humanistic  
trends of the  
intellectuals*

1. The cardinal of the Dominicans Hugues de Provence in his study. The first depiction in the history of Art of someone working wearing spectacles. Part of a fresco by Tommaso da Modena in Treviso's monastery of St. Nicholas, done in ca. 1350.



tions of books or had access to diocesan libraries. Three of them stand out: Richard de Bury, John Grandisson and Simon Langham.

**A *philobiblos* reader of Strabo: Richard de Bury.** I opted for this rather poetic heading referring to Richard de Bury as he is the first Westerner after Strabo

to have employed the term. In the first century BC Strabo used the term *philobiblos* to describe the intellectual pursuits of Apellicon,<sup>2</sup> an ambiguous personality who acquired the authentic *esoteric* texts of Aristotle and tried to complement them with some dilapidated excerpts. Thirteen centuries later, under the title *Philobiblon*, Bury wrote an essay recording the paths and methods he pursued for the composition of his library and pointing out the risks incurred to books by their mindless treatment on the part of pupils and readers.<sup>3</sup>

Richard was born near Bury St. Edmunds in 1287, of a titled family, studied at Oxford, learned Greek and Hebrew and then joined the order of Benedictines.<sup>4</sup> He undertook the education of Prince Edward, son of King Edward II and upon accession to the



2. Richard de Bury's Episcopal seal.

throne of his pupil in 1327, Richard was ordained bishop of Durham (1333), later Chancellor of England and Treasurer of the English throne in 1336. He repeatedly visited the papal See at Avignon and undertook diverse diplomatic missions until his death in 1345.

Richard de Bury gathered books in every way throughout his brilliant career, whether in England or the international market of Continental Europe.<sup>5</sup> He made no secret of his willingness to acquire books in exchange for facilitations he could provide from the political position he occupied, which he besides considered to be an absolutely normal practice. He borrowed books from private persons, ecclesiastic houses and institutes for the purpose of their being copied by specialised callig-



raphers in his employ as well as illuminators and book-binders who lived under his roof.<sup>6</sup> Many of the books of his library came from abbeys and particularly St. Albans as is mentioned by Thomas Walsingham in his *Gesta abbatum*. There he testifies that Bishop Richard of Wallingford (1328-1336) gave Bury four manuscripts from the St. Albans library with works by Terence, Virgil, Quintilian and Jerome's *Contra Rufinum*, with a view to earning credit at court.<sup>7</sup> Later the bishop himself sold Bury thirty-two more manuscripts from the diocesan library for fifty pounds, which Bury noted in Bishop Richard's name as of his *ex libris*.<sup>8</sup>

Richard de Bury intended to found a college at Oxford and to bequeath it the whole of his comprehensive library. This also had to do with the lack of public libraries to assist in college studies and was something he shared with other clerical officials of his day such as for instance Thomas de Cobham, bishop of Worcester. The plan was however not realised and the executors of Bury's will moreover did not foresee to ensure a future long life for his library. His books came on to the open market and the catalogue of his books, drawn up on his orders and containing exactly the extent and content of his collection was lost for ever.<sup>9</sup> It

is possible that Bury's vision of a school at university level with a well-stocked library derived from Sorbon's initiative in Paris, also bearing in mind his impressions regarding the world of books during his stay in Paris: he called it *paradisium mundi* and the world centre of books and libraries.<sup>10</sup>

Although Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* does not have aspirations to literature, it is nevertheless significant for two main reasons: one, that it comments on monas-



3. A view of Oxford's New College sketched in ca. 1461-65. The college library was housed on the first floor of the building. Oxford, New College (Ms 288, fo. 3v).



tic and academic life in England in the first half of the fourteenth century and second that it is the 'gospel' for the value of books in education.<sup>11</sup> It is that is to say a rule equivalent to that of monastic orders, but different in that it is not based on nor does it obey to some specific founding document. In Britain's intellectual history nobody had heretofore conceived of the incalculable value of the composition of a major library of university character, nor the vision of a library to which all who loved to read could have access.

In the *Philobiblon* Richard aimed at sensitizing monks in regard to the capital role played by books as a tool for learning, and by extension to inspire them with the respect it should enjoy as the carrier par excellence of knowledge. In his essay, Bury admits to his collector's philosophy and his devotion to books, stressing that nothing was to stand in the way of his enriching his library, not even the financial factor, and he exhorts his contemporaries and those who would follow after to show to books the respect they were deemed, demanding that they be used with care, with a conscious effort to protect them from the occasional reader or indeed the regular permanent readers, considering that the contrary was tantamount to sacrilege.<sup>12</sup>

**John Grandisson.** Gransdisson belonged to a great baronial family of Savoy and must have been born in Ashperton at the end of the thirteenth century, whence he came to the English court. He initially studied civil law at Oxford and continued his studies in Paris, attending courses in theology between 1313 and 1317, returning to finish at Oxford again between 1326 and 1327. He owed his clerical career to papal favour as well as to the death of his brother in 1358, when he came into an enviable fortune. He was appointed bishop of Exeter on finishing his studies in 1327, a position he held until his death in 1369.<sup>13</sup>

His will, drawn up a year before his death, confirms his great love of books. He bequeathed his books to diverse institutions under specific terms that allowed no contestation.<sup>14</sup> The most important theological texts were destined to cover the needs of the major ecclesiastic centres and the spiritual interests of intellectuals of his diocese. His best *originalia* (patristic texts) he bequeathed to Exeter cathedral as well as such related texts were not already housed in the cathedral library, such as two manuscripts with texts by Nicolaus de Lyra and Nicolas Trevet. His theological manuscripts, which were not of great value, would be distributed among indigent students of theology and the libraries of Stapledon Hall, the remainder given to the library of Exeter College. He left his manuscripts containing works by Thomas Aquinas to the Dominicans of his diocese.<sup>15</sup>



He bequeathed texts written by himself and other books kept in his apartments and the chapels to his successors on Exeter's episcopal throne. These included a voluminous codex with prayer-books and texts on meditation by Anselm and Augustine as well as his personal copy of the Bible.<sup>16</sup>

A considerable number of his books has survived to our days, mainly theological, many of them with his hand-written notes and comments as well as mention of their origin and manner of acquisition. Characteristically, on a manuscript with St. Augustine's *Opuscula*, belonging to the abbey of Robertsbridge and sealed with a curse, Grandisson stated that it had been acquired by honest means.<sup>17</sup>

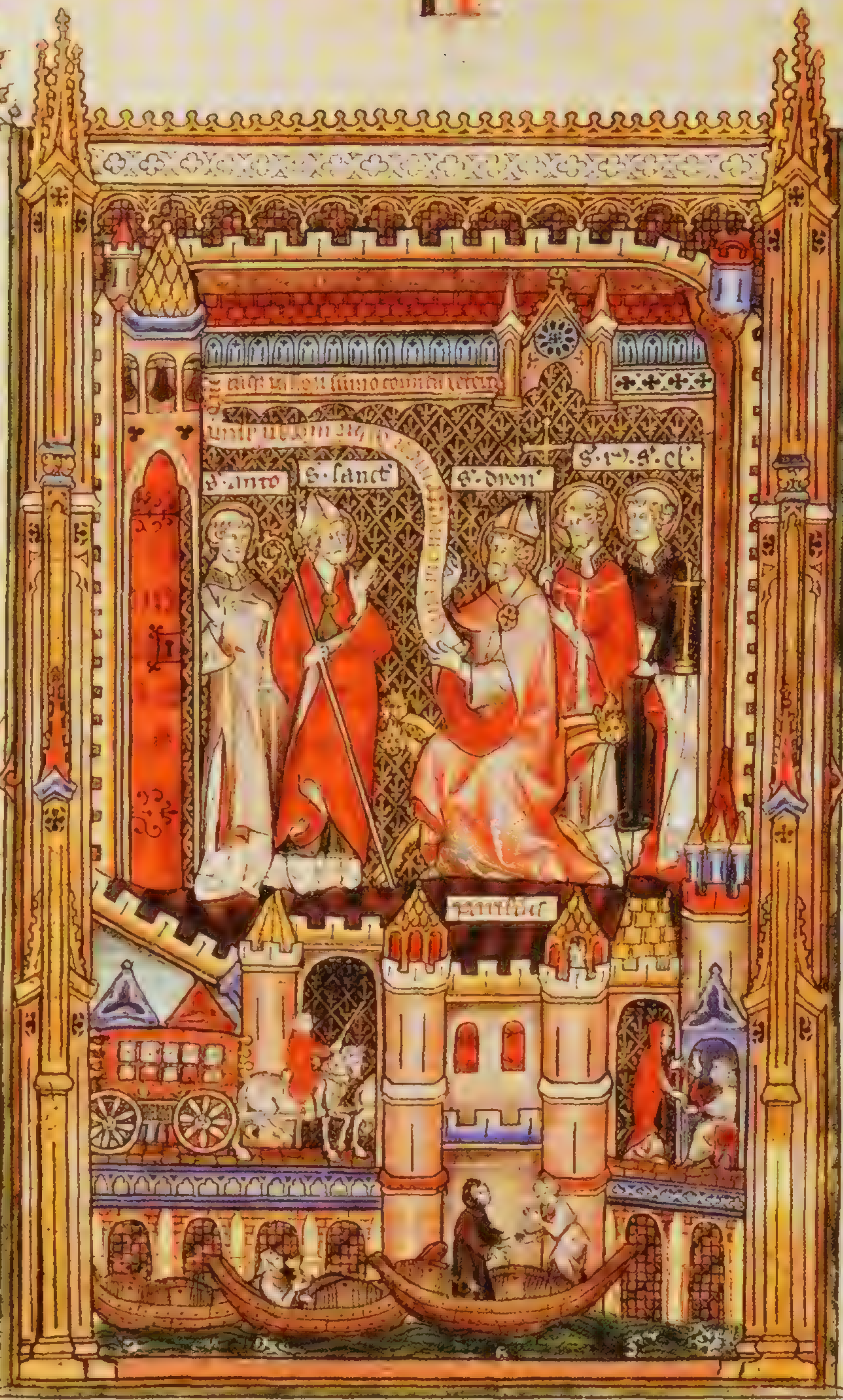
From the second half of the thirteenth century onward, various bishops ever more frequently appear as donors of significant book collections to Oxford colleges, thus playing an important part in the enrichment of their libraries, for instance William Rede, bishop of Chichester to Magdalen College; William of Wykeham to New College; Robert Flemyng to Lincoln College and others.<sup>18</sup> Their example was followed, certainly in smaller donations but equally significant in their sum total, such as the case of the teacher Thomas de Lexham, a cleric of Hereford Abbey and rector of Feltwell who donated fifty books.

**Simon Langham.** Langham, third of the church officials mentioned earlier as one of the major bibliophiles, after the calamities of the Black Death was bishop of Westminster from 1349 to 1362. He was then elected bishop of Ely and subsequently archbishop of Canterbury (1366-1368), concurrently serving as Treasurer and Chancellor of England. Lexham concluded his career as cardinal at the papal see of Avignon where he died in 1376.<sup>19</sup>

Among his belongings, sent to Westminster Abbey from Avignon, there were eighty volumes of mainly theological texts and canon law. And Lexham's secretary in Avignon Adam Easton in turn donated about 228 books to Norwich cathedral.<sup>20</sup>

**The beginnings of the formation of the king of France's library.** The introduction to the forming of every royal library has always been by the scholarly court circle, that is the persons who guided the monarchs with their knowledge and their intellectual pursuits and decisively influenced them in the cultivation of letters and support of centres of book production. The composition of library nuclei by the rulers sprang from the source of intellectual level of courtiers and was not the diverse valuable manuscripts stored in the treasuries as symbols of wealth and power.





Istos prelatos ad se pater iste uocatos  
admonet ut presto sint by certamine gesto.  
pater gesto: scilicet de fene luam.



Unlike the king of England Henry II, Emperor Frederick II and Ruggiero II, king of Sicily, the kings of France Louis VII and Philippe Auguste were not surrounded by circles of intellectuals and scholars.<sup>21</sup> Obviously, the grand reputation of the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine in the twelfth century, whose members were distinguished by their literary orientation must have been reflected also in the composition of a comprehensive library at her court, which cannot have failed to influence courtiers of the Parisian royal environment.<sup>22</sup> A bibliophile current may be observed at the French court by the initiative of Marie de Brabant, daughter of Henry III de Brabant, whom Philippe Auguste took as his second wife in 1275.<sup>23</sup> The acquaintance of Marie with Adenet le Roi proved to be not only the writing of *Cléomadès* but also marked the outset of support of more essence of persons of intellect and letters by the members of the aristocracy.<sup>24</sup>

The effects of Marie de Brabant's love of books lasted into the years of Philippe le Bel, evidenced by numerous books dedicated to him by writers such as Henri de Mondeville, Guillaume Guiart, and Jean de Meun who edited a translation of Boethius's and Galvano di Levanto's *Directorium*.<sup>25</sup> Three manuscripts have survived from Philippe's library: the famous second volume of a Bible, which subsequently passed into the possession of Jean, duc de Berry, illuminated by the master Honoré, a manuscript *Breviarium* and the *Liber natalis pueri parvuli Christi Jesu* by Raymond de Lulle.<sup>26</sup>

**The library of Charles V.** The most famous royal library of the Middle Ages was Charles V's who acceded to the French throne in 1360. In 1367 or the next year, on his orders his library was transferred from the palace of the Cité to his fortified residence of the Louvre and specifically to the three last levels of the tower of the Fauconnerie.<sup>27</sup> Under supervision by an architect the rooms were specially arranged for the classification of the books: they had wooden wall panels, vaulted ceilings and heavy doors sealed every floor, proper lighting also having been foreseen for reading after dark. The king's ulterior aim was to organize a library that was not confined to his own personal interests or those of his courtiers but would also be open to the broader public of the intellectual community.<sup>28</sup>

4. *Manuscript with the Life and Miracles of Saint Denis who was executed in Paris in 1317. The miniature depicts saints, with St. Denis, the first bishop of Paris, among them. Paris, National Library of France (Ms. Fran. 2090-2092, fo. 125r).*



Of course not all the books in the royal collection ended at the Louvre, as Charles kept in his luxurious dwellings in the environs of Paris, the chateau of Vincennes, Saint-Germain and Melun magnificent manuscripts of liturgical content and prayer books with rare bindings and illuminations. The nucleus of his library was the wealth of books he mainly inherited from his father Saint-Louis. Charles was an avid reader and he employed all the known and traditional ways of en-



5. Illumination from a manuscript belonging to the king of France Charles V showing him receiving the book *Les Voies de Dieu*, in the French translation by Jacques Beauchant done in Paris in 1372. Paris, National Library of France (Ms fr. 1792).

riching his library: he collected books from his broader circles of family and relatives, buying and letting his subjects know of his predilections so as to receive valuable manuscripts as gifts at every sort of occasion. Meanwhile, he employed calligraphers and copiers, illuminators and bookbinders, thus taking part in every process multiplying his wealth in books.<sup>29</sup>

The contents of his library are revealing of his cogitations and not very different from his great ancestor's, Charlemagne.<sup>30</sup> He acquired manuscripts with works of

Roman literature, theology and patristic texts, Bibles and texts of ancient and contemporary literature. He assigned French translations to be made, so that important works should not remain the privilege of Latin scholars alone, and he hired Nicole Oresme to edit translations of works by Ptolemy and Aristotle, as well as Raoul de Presles to translate the *De civitate Dei* by St. Augustine. The king had opinions about the books he wished to acquire, covering subjects of encyclopaedic knowledge, ethics, 'politics', theology, history and philosophy. He believed he could draw a model for the government of his country from Aristotle, and it was in the light of this that he commissioned the completion of *Grandes Chroniques de France* so that the times of his rule of France should be included. The result of all this venture in books is the number of 900 manuscripts his library contained in 1363, when he was in fact still the Dauphin, later amounting to 3,900 between 1379 and 1381.<sup>31</sup>



In 1369 Charles entrusted the guardianship of his library to Gilles Mallet, whom he highly esteemed and whom in 1376 he appointed as his maître d' 'ostel'. To contribute to the royal venture Mallet himself offered some 20 volumes from his own library such as an atlas of the region of Catalonia. In 1373 he drew up a first catalogue of the royal library, of which the original has been lost but from the two subsequent copies supervised by Jean Blanchet in 1380 we know that the Louvre library alone housed 917 volumes.<sup>32</sup>

It is not however Charles V's library alone that demonstrates the love of books evinced by the French aristocracy of the period as libraries almost as valuable from every point of view we also built by members of the royal family, such as Charles's brother Jean duc de Berry, who personally and passionately supervised the additions to his collections, in Paris and Bourges.<sup>33</sup>

In 1380 Charles VI acceded to the French throne and for the first time a French king inherited the library of his predecessor. Himself adoring books, he did not alter the bibliotheconomic *status quo* he inherited. He kept the library in the Louvre and Mallet at his post.<sup>34</sup> However, the behaviour of the king brought about a situation which in no way favoured the cohesion of his collection, for he used to neglect to return the manuscripts to their proper place.<sup>35</sup> This meant that disorder began to reign in the chronicle of the library that was a curse with incalculable consequences for many royal and imperial libraries, mainly from then and onward: the king, the queen, and members of their family borrowed books that were never returned. The library was however lucky in that constant enrichment in some way compensated for its being drained.

Mallet died in 1411 and was succeeded as librarian by Garnier de Saint Yon. In 1424 Garnier was assigned the cataloguing of the royal library's manuscripts, as



6. A depiction of a typical interior of a French royal castle, with wood panelling on walls and ceiling, the huge fireplace and the furnishings. A book presentation to the French king Louis XII. National Library of France (Ms fr. 53, fo. 9).



France's Regent, John Duke of Bedford, himself a great bibliophile, expressed the intention of buying it.<sup>36</sup> The picture of the anarchy prevailing in the state of the library is apparent from the new register which revealed that from the resignation of Garnier to the occupation of his post by Jean Maulin 55 manuscripts had been misused. The record showed 843 manuscripts, which Bedford added to his personal collection on 22 June 1425 and took to England a little later, in 1429. Upon the death of Charles VI in 1435 the royal library that had been constituted in the days of Charles V was already dispersed.

A fresh chapter in the history of the French royal library opened in the reigns of Charles VII, Louis XI and Charles VIII later, who enriched it with manuscripts of fabulous value and especially significant richly illuminated originals from his course of conquests in Italy and the plundering of historic libraries.<sup>37</sup>

### **Private libraries of intellectuals at the outset of the fourteenth century.**

The rich royal libraries and libraries of members of royal families and aristocrats reflect the intellectual spirit of the period and the lively interest of men of letters and scholars centred on a huge intellectual heritage standardized in a plethora of manuscripts. Among the intellectuals of the period de Plumetot stands out for his library.

**Simon de Plumetot.** Born in 1371 in Plumetot, a Normandy town, Simon began his career at the Paris abbey of St. Victor as financial manager.<sup>38</sup> This abbey was not yet a monastic centre but another college of Paris university, directly dependent on the permanent ecclesiastical officials of the order of St. Augustine. Simon was not particularly interested in theological studies, preferring the legal field, and went to Orleans to complete them.

Equipped with first-class legal expertise, he set out on a career in the Paris Parliament where, successively, he served as authorized lawyer of the Throne, advisor for Research and then advisor to the Grand Council (1428). He remained in this post during the entire British occupation, with a view to benefiting from the negotiations of the Treaty of Arras after the re-occupation of Paris by Charles VII in 1436. Simon did not succeed in the attainment of his goals and returned to Normandy, entering into the service of the king of England. He died in Rouen in 1443.

7. *The Duke of Bedford praying in front of Saint George, illumination from the manuscript The Bedford Hours, made in Paris at different times and by different artists, from the early fifteenth century and completed in about 1430. London, British Library (Add. Ms 18850, fo. 256v).*









8. Self portrait by Simon de Plumetot. Paris, National Library of France (Ms lat. 14800, last fo.).



The total of Simon de Plumetot's library must have numbered more than 100 volumes, a quantity of particular significance for a man of letters of the time. Upon leaving Paris he carried a few manuscripts since he did not intend to risk the transport of all his collection to his new dwelling because he had to cross areas at war. He thus entrusted the care of the greater part thereof to friends at the school of St. Victor. When the abbot Jean Lamasse – who was always willing to multiply the fund of books of the abbey – heard of Simon's death, he hastened to appropriate the manuscripts of the collection to the benefit of the abbey, indeed advising the librarians to be careful to erase any mention of possession referring to their legal proprietor so that no aspiring heir could claim the library.

When the catalogue of Simon's library was drawn up, it was most impressive for the encyclopaedic nature of the collection and the breadth of intellectual pursuits of its owner. A major part naturally treated of legal matters but also of the proceedings of the Synods as well as texts of political content such as the *Somnium viridarii* by Marsilio da Padova. There was no lack of historical works as well as chronicles, relating mainly to Normandy, and in this field of knowledge were included works by Suetonius, Julius Caesar and Valerios Maximus. Roman letters were also represented by works by Cicero, Virgil, Terence and Seneca, while from French literature such works stood out as the *Échecs amoureux* and poetry by Eustache Deschamps and Alain Chartier, in which Simon had included essays of his own. Abelard's works were distinguished among the theological texts and also of contemporaries of Simon's such as Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, with a special place in the library held by works of Logic and Philosophy, with Aristotelian works in Latin and French translations as well as translations of Plato by Leonardo Bruni. Among the scientific texts there were diverse thematic entities such as mathematics, physics, medicine and cosmography as well as essays by alchemists and of astrology. This almost comprehensive library has even greater value if it is judged by the fact that it was not only a result of his purchasing power but of his personal occupation, since most manuscripts were copies in his own hand.

Simon de Plumetot's was not the only library to evidence the bibliophily of the period, others also had equivalent collectors' passions, such as Nicolas de Baye,<sup>39</sup> who was engaged in a collection of something very rare for his times: he sought autographs of significant personalities of the book world on a variety of subjects, notes and comments on particularly important texts from Antiquity, such as the comments, in French, of Evrard de Conty on the problems of Aristotle, and the personal manuscripts of literary content of Nicolas de Clamanges as well as certain personal documents of Gerson's.<sup>40</sup>

*The contents  
of his library*





9. The façade of the fortified palace of the papal seat at Avignon. Woodcut by Dimitrios Galanis, August 1914.



**The pope's library at Avignon.** The composition of the pope's library at Avignon was the offshoot of ecclesiastic developments, that is the dispute between the pope Boniface VIII with the French king Philippe IV le Bel. Their clashes began in 1296, when the latter imposed a tax on the clergy without the acquiescence of the pope and Boniface rejected the right of sovereigns to proceed to such initiatives ignoring the Holy See. Philippe IV did not obey the papal Bulls and reacted strongly, to the point of controlling the roads to Rome so that within a few months the pontiff found himself in a dire financial state. Boniface was forced to retract, but in 1301 a fresh crisis arose on the occasion of a French bishop appearing before a royal court to face charges of high treason. Boniface convened the French bishops to come to a synod meeting in Rome which was prevented by Philippe. From then on matters worsened and after Boniface's death his successor Benedict XI lived for only a few months so that the papal throne was vacant for a time.

In 1305 the archbishop of Bordeaux became pope with the name of Clement V, but Philippe le Bel so manoeuvred that the pope never reached Rome. From then on the chronicle of the Holy See was called the 'Babylonian Captivity' of the papacy by Petrarch himself, with a succession of French ecclesiastics on the papal throne.

**The chronicle of the new papal library.** The papal library at Rome had been constituted from the time when the Holy See was established and already in the years of Pope Damasus I (336-384), one of whose circle was Jerome when he was ordered to revise the text of the Latin bible, there must have been a sizeable collection of books.<sup>41</sup> With a wealth of Latin and Greek codices, this library was an inexhaustible source in the times of Gregory the Great, whence he drew material to equip his missions to the archbishoprics of the North as well as the various missionaries, pilgrims and itinerant men of letters who toiled there to find books, mainly patristic, unavailable or inaccessible to them.<sup>42</sup> This library was pillaged in the ninth century, as was a great part of the wealth of the monasteries and churches of Rome, whilst a catalogue dated 1295 testifies to the papal library having no more than 443 manuscripts.<sup>43</sup>

During the span of the breach in the relations of Boniface VIII and Philippe le Bel, the former, afraid for his life decided to leave Rome for Anagni – the papal summer residence – transporting the papal treasure with him: archives, books and valuable vessels. The treasure did not remain intact: it was first plundered in Anagni and what remained accompanied the new pope Benedict XI to Perugia in



1304, whence it was sent to Lucca in 1312, in the hope that it would reach France by sea. In 1314 it was pillaged yet again and ended up in Assisi about six years later (1320). Three inventories from 1311 to 1339, at Perugia, Assisi and Avignon evidence what it had suffered, as the collection, of 645 manuscripts<sup>44</sup> numbered a mere 226 in Assisi in 1327<sup>45</sup> and began to be added to once more in the papal environment of Avignon, when a new register showed the contents to be 433 manuscripts.<sup>46</sup>

**The organization of the library.** The new pope, elected with the name of John XXIII settled into the impressive bishops' palace of Avignon, which he demolished and rebuilt on a fresh design.<sup>47</sup> In 1338, on the east wing of the palace the pope's tower was completed, the Treasure Tower, later called the Tower of Angels. In this tower the treasury was installed where most probably the books were stored on the top floor, just above the pope's apartments.<sup>48</sup>

**The collectors' philosophy.** The augmenting of the Avignon library used a number of methods and practices and the number of manuscripts increased swiftly. A steady source of enrichment of the papal library<sup>49</sup> was the bequests of each pope, which reached the library either on his accession to the throne or by his Will. Pope Clement VI owned a comprehensive library, indicated by the marking of the books with his coat of arms of Pierre Roger, that is before his accession to the papacy. The cardinal of Aragon, later Pope Benedict XIII, possessed a library which according to a register numbered no less than 185 manuscripts.<sup>50</sup>

**Purchase and copying.** Pope John XXII was very fond of books and of education in general, gathered from the words of Petrarch himself who settled in Avignon in 1326 and refers to the pope with the commenting on his 'thirst for reading'<sup>51</sup> To satisfy his quest for knowledge, the pope asked for volumes of texts to be assembled so that he could more rapidly absorb their contents. Many manuscripts related to this request have survived to this day, such as Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologia*,<sup>52</sup> or Giraud le Cambrien's *Topographica Hibernia*, edited by the Dominican Philippe de Slane under the title *Libellus de descriptione Hiberniae*, and others.<sup>53</sup>

Various monks were sent by the pope on book-finding missions, crisscrossing the region of Southern France mainly, seeking manuscripts: in 1317, Guillaume Durand of the Bordeaux Dominican monastery acquired 56 manuscripts for the



pope's account, mostly with the works of commentators on Aristotle.<sup>54</sup> Bishops also, of Digne, Rieux, Vence and others undertook to buy books for him.<sup>55</sup> A team of scribes furthermore works for the pope, as he instructed copying diverse texts, one of them being Philippe de Revesto who edited the manuscript *De statu et planctu Ecclesiae* by Alvaro Pelayo.<sup>56</sup> In 1322 Pope John XXII managed to retrieve books pillaged during the storing of the papal treasure in Lucca.<sup>57</sup>

When the Holy See was established at Avignon, the monastic and other centres of books of France turned in that direction and the frequent visits paid by the ecclesiastical world, the teachers and professor of the universities and intellectuals to the imposing palace of the popes soon made an open 'bookshop' of the new papal capital city.

**Donations and bequests.** As the head of the Christian Church in the West all the popes received gifts from secular rulers and from Church officials as well as from the authors themselves as a sign of reverence. The papal correspondence



10. Prayer book belonging to Pope Clement VII, a richly illuminated codex with compositions of anthemias in the margins of the text as well as between the lines. A typical illumination shows two angels holding the papal tiara over the pope's emblem.



shows numerous such instances: John XXII addressed a letter to the bishop of Majorca to thank him for the eight-tomed Bible he was given; to the doctor Nicolo 'Dominici' from Perugia he expressed his pleasure for the *Libellus de regimine sanitatis*, written in the pope's honour, and to the bishop of Lodève Bernard Gui his thanks for the gift of his book in four volumes (*Speculum sanctorale*).<sup>58</sup>

There was also the bequest to the Holy See from Étienne des Moulins, a cleric from Paris, of 24 volumes with theological texts and texts of canon and civil law.<sup>59</sup> Pope Clement VI received the gift from Louis of Taranto and Queen Joan of Naples a particularly important number of book, about one hundred, brought to Avignon by Niccoló Acciaiuoli, a senator of the kingdom of Naples when he visited the pope.<sup>60</sup> The duc de Berry, known for his love of books, gave Pope Clement VII a richly ornamented Bible bearing his badge.<sup>61</sup>

**Confiscations.** According to canon law, in specific instances the pope had the privilege and the right to confiscate the belongings of Church officials at their death.<sup>62</sup> This right was repeatedly exercised during the period when the Holy See was at Avignon, from the time of John XXII up to Benedict XIII's. The Vatican archives show that over 18 years the library was incremented by 26 confiscations.<sup>63</sup> A great number of the community of the clergy died in the great plague that decimated Europeans in 1348, and their belongings and books found their way to Avignon's library. A 1353 register of similar events, referring to the years 1343-1350 mentions 40 instances. The result of this authority of the pope's was the placing of 1,385 manuscripts<sup>64</sup> in sacks, chests, trunks and other luggage in the Tower of Angels.

**The redistribution.** The books reaching the papal castle of Avignon through confiscations were not necessarily housed in the central library, as once the pontiff's commissioners had completed the work of detailed recording they did not send the reports themselves to the relevant services, returning instead – by decision of the pope himself – part of the property of the defunct.<sup>65</sup> At the death of the archbishop of Auch, Amanieu d'Armagnac in 1318, of the 87 books registered 26 were sold and 46 more were put up for sale as long as 10 years after his death.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore the manuscripts of Pierre de Castelnau (died 1334) bishop of Rodez numbered 70, 26 of which came from the library of his predecessor Pierre de Pleine-Chassaigne and 70 more with the same origin were mentioned as being in the hands of Pierre Palhargues. After lengthy negotiations, Bernard d'Albi,



Castelnau's heir, succeed in obtaining possession of 77 manuscripts of the bishop's collection.<sup>67</sup>

These books, many of which were represented in several copies, were also used for other objectives, they namely enabled the popes to respond to the requests of diverse ecclesiastical institutions such as monastic centres, diocesan schools, colleges and universities. They all asked for books and so did those who wished to empower their teaching organigrams: John XXII sent books to the Chartreuse de Bonpas (Vaucluse) and to that of Cahors.<sup>68</sup> Pope Innocent VI endowed the students at Montpellier with 24 volumes of canon law books and in 1352 equipped a student at Toulouse university with two *fardelli* of books.<sup>69</sup>



11. Portrait of Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici, Pope Clement VII from 1523 to 1534, by Sebastiano del Piombo, c. 1531.



hanc noua ordinatio omnium  
 librorum et voluminum rectorum in  
 maiori libraria sacre palacie sive  
 monasterio a nativitate domini  
 millesimo quadringentesimo  
 tertio pontificatus beatiissimi  
 domini nostri benedicti pape VIII.  
 de anno VIII. de mandato sue  
 beatissime sanctitatis facta et  
 iuxta. e. v. sermissimum ac pre  
 clarissimum ingenium opulata.

**U**tilis sequens ordi  
 natio pendatur. libe  
 rarietate. q. grandis  
 libraria sacre palacie.  
 armamentis. e. inquadro posita. et in  
 libet quadro. de librerie. sunt. arm  
 ria lignea. que p. diuissas domuculas.  
 assumo usq. ad deorsum. distincta.  
 sunt. quelibet etia domucula per  
 postas transversales. et medios. subdi  
 uiditur. Et de huius subdiuisione  
 transversali no e curandum. i. p. n.

ordinatio. Et solum. et dum capat de  
 distinctione domucularum. assumo usq.  
 ad deorsum. in quavis qualibet erunt.  
 duo distincti ordines. librorum colloca  
 torum. ibidem. Incipiendo numerum illorum  
 ab infima parte cuiuslibet ordinis. co  
 tina in domucula usq. ad summum eius.  
 taliter. q. principium. ordinis. sequenti  
 apte inferiori communicando. correspo  
 deat. fini. ordinis. precedentis. ipse apar  
 te superiorum terminanti. et eodem acceptu  
 numerus sequatur numerum. Et sicut  
 ipsa libraria. distincta. e. in quatuor an  
 gulis. sive quadros. sic et in quatuor arma  
 ria. principalia. nam in quolibet quadro.  
 e. unum armarium. licet nullum istorum  
 armamentorum occupet totum. quadrum. in  
 pedientibus tam parali q. fenestra de  
 librerie. Dempto uno. quod totum. q.  
 dum replet. p. longum. ab. uno angu  
 lo. ad alium. Et notandum. q.  
 in dea libraria. sunt due fenestre. et  
 in huius duas fenestras. e. unum arma  
 rium. qd. positum e. in medio dextero  
 ab ingressu librerie. et hoc armarium  
 interea p. n. ordinatio. consignabitur  
 p. n. ab eo quia i. hoc sunt collo  
 cati p. n. libri. s. sacri canones. qui  
 in p. n. debet nominari qui in huius  
 locum p. n. in deo armario colloca  
 ti sunt. quia hoc armarium. v. e. in  
 loco. conuenienti tota librerie. et



**Inventories and catalogues.** From the time the papal library at Avignon was organized on a more stable basis, and the foundations were laid of a specific philosophy as to the multiplication of its manuscripts as well as its contribution to the cultivation of letters in general, many efforts went into drawing up an exhaustive catalogue. The first document of the sort to come down to us dates to 1369,<sup>70</sup> about thirty years after the one composed in 1339 on orders of Pope Benedict XII, followed by two catalogues made in 1375 and 1407 respectively.<sup>71</sup>

The 1369 catalogue is due to the initiative of Pope Urban V who assigned Cardinal Philippe Cabassole to proceed to drawing up a detailed inventory of all the valuable items housed in the papal palace. More than 2000 volumes are recorded in detail in this catalogue (*inventarium factum de omnibus libris existentibus in palacio*), with the name of the author and the text's title, the quality of the binding and the key words of the beginning of the text on every second page and of the ending on every penultimate page.<sup>72</sup>

The second catalogue, elaborated in 1375, is a product of the profound scholarship that distinguished Pope Gregory XI who studied at Perugia and a student of the great Waldo's. On accession to the papal throne the pope proceeded to the organization of the library on rules that were unprecedented for the day. This is no ordinary inventory of the library, it is instead a codification useful to both the librarian and the readers in their studies. The number of books had increased since the previous catalogue of 1369, although we do not know their origins. The books were classified according to bibliotheconomic rules and methods: each manuscript is numbered and placed in secure cupboards bearing tables (*tabulae*) with their contents. An inventory was subsequently drawn up of the contents of each cupboard (*tabula*) and the manuscripts were recorded with purely bibliographic data: name of author and title or also thematic entity (*De medicina*). The contents of each volume are not described but every work contained in it is punctiliously numbered.<sup>73</sup>

**Unclassified books.** Another catalogue, drawn up in 1397 and a record of manuscripts is marked with the words *reperti in magna libraria extra inventarium tabularum*. It is the record of 173 volumes not comprised in the 1375 catalogue, although they were kept in the library's central room and were destined for a purpose unknown to us. The volumes do not have coded numbering, are not kept in cupboards and they distinguished only by a coded entry describing the shape, the binding and the writing. These may be books that had been housed in another library and were placed on shelves or desks, probably constituting an open library for the reading public or also a lending library.<sup>74</sup>

*The magna  
libraria*



The catalogue of 1407, made in the times of Pope Benedict XIII provides in every way important information, describing the area of the library, the *magna libraria*.<sup>75</sup> This library occupied a section of the top floor of the Tower of Angels, the remaining space being used as a small treasury. The person who made the catalogue went on to a description of the rules followed for its constitution and the categorization of the manuscripts according to study entities: theology, canon and civil law, the arts, medicine etc. A further categorization refers to the nature of each text: authenticity of the work, comments, theoretical writings, practical manuals. After this bibliotheconomic approach, the cataloguer names the authors and the titles comprised in each category as well as its place in the cupboards.<sup>76</sup>

This document numbers 1,585 volumes belonging to the *magna libraria palatii* and did not comprise all the manuscripts mentioned in the previous catalogue of 1375, indicating there were other areas used as storerooms of books such as that open to the reading public, with the unclassified books.<sup>77</sup> This catalogue, partially corrected and commented by the pope's adviser and chronicler Martin d'Alpartil testifies that a first batch of 671 books was sent to the pope's residence in Peñíscola, Catalonia while the remainder stayed in Avignon.<sup>78</sup>

The pope's  
study room

**The Studium.** The education and interests of Pope Benedict XIII led him to set apart a working space close to his apartments where he studied and read,<sup>79</sup> a fact indicated by an incomplete register wherein a *studium interior* is mentioned.<sup>80</sup> This *studium* must have been part of the hall of the Deer, divided from it by a light moveable screen. The books kept in this room were recorded in two deficient catalogues, the first mentioning 71 manuscripts not contained in the 1407 catalogue. They were not drawn up according to bibliotheconomic criteria and were rough inventories of Pope Benedict's personal study room.

**The travelling library.** The reading habits of the pope, combined with his frequent travels led him to select books that would be in his luggage: *libri qui ubique portantur pro servicio domini nostril*.<sup>81</sup> After having been confined for four and a half years in the fort of the Doms mansion (1398-1403) Pope Benedict managed to escape and find a refuge in the territory of rulers who recognised him. He was thus subsequently constantly on the move between Provence and Italy, Languedoc and

13. Illumination depicting preparations for the hunt from the most famous treatise of the Middle Ages, *Le Livre de la Chasse* by Gaston Phébus, written in Avignon at the end of the fourteenth century, Amboise (Ms fr. fo. 619).





**Et ceulx comment on doit faire les  
noues manieres de laz.**

**L**es li vucill  
aprendre de  
la faire toute  
maniere de laz  
come sont :  
pour gros  
le beste, ou pour menue pouches  
et bourses. paillans. laz. cheues  
tres. laz qui s'appelle de linc cheues  
tre croise. laz commun de pour gat

et toute autre maniere de laz. et  
chascun fer selon la forme et ma  
niere come a dessus est figure.

**Et ceulx comment on doit faire le  
cuer**



Roussillon, ending in Catalonia without ever returning to Avignon. His initially small library, in combination with manuscripts he acquired at the various stages of his travels as well as books sent to him from Avignon in his temporary lodgings eventually made up a library numbering no less than 577 volumes.<sup>82</sup> The library is known to us from a catalogue drawn up in two periods of time, in every way exceptionally valuable. The methodical record of manuscripts is placed in about thirty entities, with the manuscripts alphabetically classified, on the lines of an internal thematic logic.

**The great library of Peñíscola.** After the Synods of Pisa and Perpignan (1408, 1409), Pope Benedict XIII decided to settle in Peñíscola permanently. He had already been sending parts of his personal collection of manuscripts there from time to time, as well as part of the *magna libraria*, so that when he moved in he had at disposal a library in every way worthy of his position. Its catalogue, drawn up be-



14. A view of Peñíscola, Pope Benedict XIII's, final refuge: a fort built by the Templars at the end of the thirteenth century. Here on this fortified 'island' the schism also ended when Pope Clement VIII eventually accepted to resign in 1429.



tween 1413 and 1415 is evidence of its distinction, mentioning 1,090 volumes, distributed in here cupboards.<sup>83</sup> After the death of Pope Benedict XIII in 1423 a new catalogue made doubles the number of manuscripts of his library, showing that 2,000 books were now kept in the great library as well as in his personal stadium which he organized in his new papal residence too.<sup>84</sup>

**The dispersal of the library of Avignon and of Peñiscola.** When Pope Benedict XIII left Avignon for good, the library still contained about half the collection recorded in the 1375 catalogue.<sup>85</sup> In 1411, John XXIII asked for a new catalogue of the library of the Tower of Angels as well as of the other scattered manuscripts which, although it was not exhaustive, comprised 648 volumes plus another 234 for which there are no details.<sup>86</sup> It is possible that this unspecified material may have been the source for enriching the library of Foix College at Toulouse or the college of Roure at Avignon.<sup>87</sup> A further unknown quantity of books was moved to Rome for the private collections of Pope Eugene IV, Nicholas V and Sixtus IV.<sup>88</sup> In 1594 a last inventory of Avignon's library was made, by order of the cardinal-legate Ottaviano Acquaviva, mentioning 329 codices, a part of which ended up in the library of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, today in the Vatican Library in the section with that name.<sup>89</sup>

Immediately after the death of Benedict XIII the papal library began to disintegrate and the manuscripts were used to settle the debts amassed by the pope. Clement VIII, who succeeded him, found the papal coffers empty and the sale of manuscripts was the only solution open to him to pay the debts and two thirds of the library were thus dispersed.<sup>90</sup> The catalogue made for the requirements of the sale preserved the names of the new owners of each book and the document thus constitutes a complementary 'inventory' of the libraries where the papal manuscripts went. Among the libraries incremented by the papal auction was also the collection of King Alfonso of Aragon, highly placed Church officials, bishops and cardinals, even officers of the guards of Peñiscola's forts, who in fact obtained the lion's share. Members of the pope's domestic staff kept from one to about a dozen volumes as 'mementos' and a great number of books was sold on the free market, while more than 250 codices went to two main purchasers: a bookseller in Barcelona and somebody on record as *castellanus*. This last register does not give the full picture of the dispersion of the library, since many manuscripts were lost for ever and others were stolen or lent, never to be returned.<sup>91</sup>

In 1429, following the resignation of Gil Sanchez Muñoz Cardinal Pierre de Foix became the owner of the remains of the papal property in Peñiscola.<sup>92</sup> He re-

*The wealth  
of books  
is squandered*



ceived from Pedro de Luna among other things what was left of the library and he immediately proceeded to record it. The 562 manuscripts found were sent to Avignon and thence were delivered to the library of the college of Foix in Toulouse, according to the cardinal's last wishes.<sup>93</sup> Much later, and after many vicissitudes of this college library, Colbert took 300 volumes of its collection for the treasure of the royal library.<sup>94</sup>

**The contents of the papal library at Avignon.** The catalogues and inventories of the *magna libraria* and the other dispersed manuscripts, as well as the popes' personal collection in the *studium* which were made at various times enable us



15. The aspect today of the monumental palace of the Holy See at Avignon.

to estimate the nature of the papal library, without surprising us. Both the personal interests of each pope from Clement V to Benedict XIII and those of the curia do not diverge from those of other ecclesiastical centres. As is to be expected, the scriptural collections exceed any other entity, that is Bibles and related commentaries as well as patristic texts and their commentators. Codices with legal as

well as rhetorical texts were not lacking in the papal library, also a large number of anonymous works with sermons. A significant portion consisted of material of support by those who were against the orthodox dogma or who wished to define postulations either theologically controversial or opposed to the dogma, that is to say heresies. For the purpose manuscripts had been collected in Avignon with corresponding texts by Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Muslims. There were also texts in this entity by theologians who had taken position in favour of or against the papal will in diverse issues, among whom were Guillaum d'Ockham, Joachim de

16. One of the 30 illuminations adorning the work by Antonio Baldana *De magno schismate*. It was written for the account of Pope Martin V and recounts in verse the events that marked the crisis in the Western Church. Parma, Palatine Library (Cod. 1194, fo. 7v).





*Stylus. f. 12. r.  
Vulgaris q. Sonetti.*

**D**esti lauto nò di quella miera  
 Altro sera di que di sacra possi  
 Vesti mferito di uanti e di possi  
 Altro sera che quel di Conobiera  
 E fatto puo in altrui d'oscura giera  
 Colli sudoretti le membra e lossa  
 E haquale opposto a luy darà zossu  
 Farà la parte tocha in tueto nem.  
 E a seggia data a luy stante e geta  
 Farà correte e mobile e la mitra  
 Corona. El bachol scetro e spata. El mato  
 N'este squamosa. Puou torra la cura  
 E chiamando gione. E p' questo ben tãto  
 Come p' si recto p' altrui meta :



Flore, Nicolaus de Lyra, Johannes de Napoli and many others. Occupying a conspicuous place in the library were also works by great Church historians as by Greek and Roman literature: Cassiodorus, Eusebius, Vincent de Beauvais and also Flavius Iossipus, Suetonius, Livy and the chroniclers Bernard Gui and Richard de Poitiers. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land had triggered their own literary tradition, and the traveller's guide, the bedside reading of pilgrims, 'Passage' was present on the shelves and cupboards of the library, as the dream of a crusade had not ceased to nourish the reveries of the faithful.<sup>95</sup>

**The library of Hereford Cathedral.** The 229 surviving manuscripts<sup>96</sup> are the most indisputable evidence of what a library was like in the late Middle Ages and until the early decades of the sixteenth century. In this instance also, however, the reality is shown indirectly since no catalogue or inventory of books has reached our day from those, and the relevant archival material is no more illuminating. In this collection, only 57 codices contain notes testifying that they belonged to Hereford Cathedral's library – either *ex libris* or *ex dono*. It is possible, though, that such distinguishing marks may have been incorporated in new bindings of manuscripts done in more recent years.<sup>97</sup>

**The chronicle of the library.** The seat of Hereford's bishopric was founded in the eighth century, but what occurred in the ensuing years to the eleventh century, specifically until the time of Robert Losinga (1079-1095) the first incumbent of the bishopric following the Conquest remains obscure.<sup>98</sup> There is no credible testimony for the initiatives of Losinga in support of his diocesan library beyond the acquisition of the indispensable books for the formal operation of the cathedral, such as two manuscripts surviving in excellent condition: what is known as the *Hereford Gospel*, written near the Welsh border in the late eighth century and which found its way to Hereford in the eleventh century and another Gospel acquired for the needs of the cathedral shortly after it was copied in about 1050.<sup>99</sup>

This nucleus of the library began to be enriched with new manuscripts of a uniform whole and extending in time until *circa* 1200. These books do not only provide bibliological but also spiritual data, as their contents reflect the literary and scholarly interests of a circle of scholars and intellectuals pursued locally. It has indeed been said that Hereford was the place where the Latin tradition of letters was cultivated.<sup>100</sup> For instance, Losinga composed a treatise on Logic and Roger of Hereford, a canon law clerk, wrote some texts on astronomy accompanied by two



tables of the meridian at Hereford in 1178.<sup>101</sup> A letter from Simon du Fresne to Gerald of Wales mentions that all the liberal arts were taught at Hereford.<sup>102</sup> However, the manuscripts surviving from that epoch do not contain corresponding texts and one only refers to the study of Roman literature. Most books contain patristic texts, chapters of the Bible, works of canon law and studies by theologians of the day. This is of course not a stable denominator of the intellectual pursuits in the region of Hereford Cathedral since it is known that many Church officials had personal book collections with a variety of content, which did not necessarily reach the seat of the bishopric after their death.<sup>103</sup>

The total sum of books calculated to represent the cathedral's library is not very large in comparison with personal collections of Church officials such as Richard de Bury and Simon Langham.<sup>104</sup>

The surviving books providing data such as notes, bindings and mention of ownership that they were part of the library in question amount to 37 and 13 more could be added that may have come from the same body of the library. The actual number of manuscripts that were housed there in about 1200 can have been no less than 100.<sup>105</sup>

The name of Ralph Foliot, scion of an eminent local family and archdeacon of Hereford (ca. 1180-1198)<sup>106</sup> is associated with the only – albeit partial – recorded and surviving donation of books from those days: a total of 20 volumes.<sup>107</sup> Seven of those surviving are paleographically related among themselves as are other manuscripts kept in the library and not marked with the indi-



17. The frontispiece of the Gospel according to St. John in what is known as the Hereford Gospel, dating to the eighth century. Hereford, Library of the cathedral (Ms P.I. 2, fo. 102r).



cation *ex dono*. Of the 12 manuscripts extant today from the donation by Ralph Foliot only two contain exegeses, such as the two copies of Lombard's *Sentences* on the total of books of the New Testament.<sup>108</sup>

The search for the authorship of Hereford's manuscripts of those days, as to the form of their writing and in how far they constitute examples of a particular school immediately brings up the question of a scriptorium in the cathedral complex before 1200. However, although the bureaucratic needs of the diocese pre-



*The Cathedral Church of* HEREFORD.

18. Hereford Cathedral, engraving with the words.

suppose the existence of specialised scribes who without doubt worked in the secretariat, no attempt to connect these clerks with the copying of manuscripts for the library is conclusive for such a hypothesis.<sup>109</sup>

The only data we have from the late twelfth century in regard to books acquired by the bichopric of Hereford are related to donations and bequests. The Diary of the library mentions sixteen such gestures, none of which are distin-



guished for the rarity of the texts: they are liturgical books and others with unclear contents. However, a donation by Alan de Creppinge (died later than 1290) to the library is interesting in its consistency. They are six manuscripts of canon law, such as the *Scholia* by Petrus de Salinis, an exegetical *Decretum et al.* Despite Alan's wishes and the terms of the donation that the manuscripts should never leave Hereford's library, the terms were repeatedly violated, with the result that not one of those books has survived.<sup>110</sup>

Bishop Richard Swinfield died in 1317, a select member of the local society and patron of letters. His will has not survived, its executors however are mentioned in bequests of books to his successors and to certain members practising canon law, if not also to the library of Hereford. About fifty years later, in 1361, vestments and books from the cathedral library were lent to Bishop Lewis Charlton at the beginning of his term of office, among which a *Pontificalis* and a *Gradualis*. The memorandum accompanying the document of the loan determined that the books came from Swinfield's donation and were meant for the use of his successors. Charlton in turn, upon his death in 1369 bequeathed a *Catholicon*, an annotated Bible, a manuscript with the work by William de Pagula *Oculus Sacerdotis* and a study on Nicolaus de Lyra's *Pentateuch* to Hereford Cathedral.<sup>111</sup>

There are data from those times indicating that the significance of the library of Hereford Cathedral had not passed into cognizance of the clergy as the essential core of spiritual life. For instance, Bishop John Trefnant's (1389-1404) 91 books did not reach the diocesan library,<sup>112</sup> whilst Thomas de Lexham's well-stocked library had several recipients after his death: 33 books went to Clare Hall, Cambridge and Hereford was left only one prayer book concordant with the rules of the local Church.<sup>113</sup> This does of course not mean that the cathedral's books were not of use to the clergy and interested readers and that it was merely a storeroom. As an indication, in 1293 Professor Roger de Sevenack borrowed a monumental codex from the Dean and Chapter and various members of the local society evinced an interest in particular texts, especially those related to biblical studies and sermons.<sup>114</sup>

Charlton wanted his books chained in the church, and Lexham to have his prayer book chained to the pew where he usually sat, which indicates that the books were still kept in diverse premises and most probably in cupboards and chests.<sup>115</sup> The Rules of the cathedral, dating to 1245/6 give no information relating to the books except that they had been handed into the care – storing and upkeep – of the chancellor, who was also charged with registering the readers and lecturing on their contents.<sup>116</sup>



**The regeneration of the library.** The fifteenth century provides much more information on Hereford's library, not only because of the greater number of books surviving from that period but because they were stored in a special area, built over the west side of the new abbey.

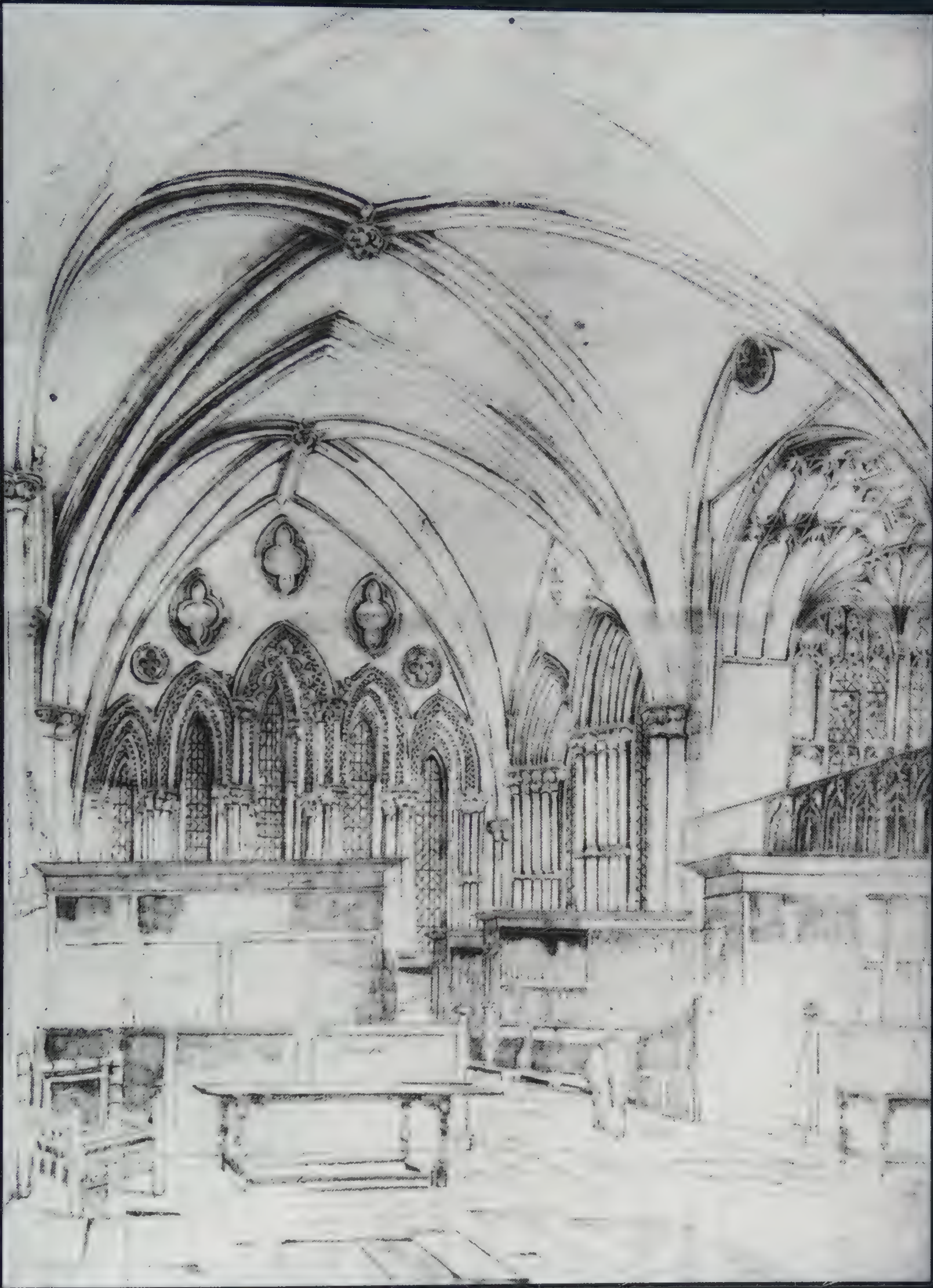
It appears that in the new library the manuscripts were kept on desks and bookstands such as the incunables and early editions bequeathed to Hereford by Dean Edmund Frowcester in 1539.<sup>117</sup> The Rules of 1583 determined that all the cathedrals' books had to be chained, which means that until then such a regulation was on paper only or had not been done systematically despite the wishes of diverse donors.<sup>118</sup> Whichever the case, the first body of books to be chained corresponds to what was donated by Frowcester.<sup>119</sup> It must however be calculated that a number of books serving the needs of the service as well as the various officials in their daily duties, books passed as useful material from one to another were probably never chained: such as a manuscript with Tomas Aquinas's *Sentences*, in the 'possession' of Richard Rotherham, chancellor in about 1421-1441 and which passed to his successors John Dylow (ca. 1449-1460) and Simon Tarver (1472-1476).<sup>120</sup>

Among the books donated to Hereford's library in the fifteenth century, a quantity derive from older book collections of eminent men of letters of the Oxford university circle, most of them containing contents of canon and civil law, such as e.g. the manuscript by Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Sanctorum*, to which later the Life of Thomas à Becket by William FitzStephen was added. The original first part had been written and illuminated in Italy, whereas the badge of de Cobham and the notes indicate that it was done for Thomas de Cobham, bishop of Worcester from 1317 to 1327. It is in fact possible that it was included in the body of books he himself bequeathed to the library he founded at Oxford, some of which books came onto the market in 1367.<sup>121</sup>

Two of the aforementioned donations stand out, both by their quantity as for their contents: Richard Rudhale's and Owen Lloyd's, two bibliophiles from Wales who studied law at Padua and Oxford respectively.<sup>122</sup> Rudhale's books came from his student environment and were acquired in Italy, as evident from their content: comments on the *Decretalis* by teachers in Italy in about 1400. Lloyd donated at least 30 books to the library, 20 of which have reached our days. Lloyd's interests and spiritual questioning are revealed by his library. Besides texts on law, works of the classics show his sensibilities such as *Ovidius Moralizatus* by Bersuire and

19. The library of Hereford Cathedral in the Lady Chapel, from a sketch dating to about 1841. Hereford, Library of the cathedral (neg. 1).







two manuscripts on rhetoric, by Aristotle and by P. de Crescenzi as well as a codex with theatrical works by Terence annotated in Lloyd's hand.<sup>123</sup>

The sources for Lloyd's acquisitions of books testify to the common practice of all bibliophile students and collectors, which were none other than monastic centres who maintained relations with schools of higher education, supplying the market with copies, double and multiple, belonging to members of monastic orders who for various

reasons had abandoned the monastic life or had died. One of Lloyd's manuscripts deserves particular attention, for its quality as well as for its relation to known previous owners. It is the most brilliant example of the art of manuscript writing extant in Hereford's library to this day, a copy of Gratianus's *Decretum, glossa ordinaria*, made in England at the end of the thirteenth century. When the copy was complete it had simple decorative additions and the artistic miniatures of the initial letters were at the stage of sketches. Its illumination was finished a few decades later, presenting today an aspect that can only be called a *work of art*.<sup>124</sup> It is obvious that the outlay for the cost of such a manuscript has to be attributed to some distinguished personality of the Exeter circle, judging by the handwritten annotations accompanying the text. It may have passed into the hands of a bishop of Exeter and may also have something to do with that patron of the arts John Grandisson (1327-1369) mentioned above.<sup>125</sup>

Hereford's library, as happens to all libraries, did not escape the 'dark



20. The 'chained library', detail of the bookcase-desks showing the attachment of the manuscripts to diverse metal elements and the use of the desk.



years' of the last decades of the sixteenth century, when it was neglected and suffered the effects of abandonment.<sup>126</sup> In 1583 a committee answering to the queen of England came to Hereford to examine the manner of behaviour and administration of the dean. A new set of Rules imposed following this investigation comprised the appointment of a Master of the Library with specific duties such as keeping an archive of the books in two exact copies. It was also decided to move the library to the Lady Chapel in 1590, where it remained until 1841. The library's furnishings, that is the desks and bookstands were moved to the new premises, where Thomas Thornton introduced essential measures for the moveable book-cases/stands/shelves, as we shall see in the next chapter.<sup>127</sup>

The first reliable and comprehensive testimony on the books of Hereford Cathedral's library is the *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*.<sup>128</sup> Despite the deficiencies and weaknesses of such an early catalogue drawn up before today's bibliographical rules, the document records the titles of 211 books in all.

**The cataloguing.** At the beginning of the eighteenth century, shortly after 1713, manuscripts and printed books were given a single Arabic numeral which did not however refer to its bibliotheconomic place in the library.<sup>129</sup> The system was improved in the same century and each book had three indications, for each code they defined: the side of each desk where they were kept, the shelf on which they stood and the place of the book in the row on the particular shelf.<sup>130</sup>



21. The manuscript of Gratianus's Decretum, donated to the library at Hereford by Owen Lloyd.







Hereford Cathedral's library is of course not representative of the most important medieval collections, neither in regard to its contents nor the total number of its books, however, the testimony of its chronicle, that is of a library that began to be constituted in the eighth century and has managed to remain *in situ* to this day as well as preserving valuable 'reserves' of equipment from past years such as the chests is what makes the difference. If we turn back the pages of this book and remember the great collections of books that grew in size in the monasteries of the Carolingian period such as Reichenau, Corbie, Lorsch and St. Gallen, as well as at Monte Cassino or Bobbio and Cluny, it will be seen that practically nothing has remained to show the authentic picture of their library.

My choice of projecting the library at Hereford also has to do with the picture of the 'chained library' as it was anonymously designed in 1876 at Hereford. This is depicted by Clark in his seminal book on libraries, also symbolizing the chained knowledge of the medieval years. This image functioned by association, to terminate this chapter on the presentation of libraries set up in diverse monastic centres in the Middle Ages.<sup>131</sup>

**Mappa Mundi.** One of the most splendid documents housed in the library at Hereford, possibly the most significant, is a Map of the World (*Mappa Mundi*) dating to the thirteenth century.<sup>132</sup> This map, a subject on which much ink has flowed, is of particular interest and it occupies a place of honour in the history of medieval cartography, although at least a thousand drawings exist from that period: from those known as T-O maps (a circle separated by a T or Y) dividing it into the then three known continents up until the comprehensive and detailed multi-thematic maps of the class of Ebstorf from the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>133</sup>

Hereford's Map was drawn on a single parchment (dimensions 1.59 x 1.34 m.) and contrary to most maps of the day, this one is signed. A note in French at the bottom corner of the composition says that this 'mappa' (*cest estorie*) was made – it is unknown where – most probably in England, based on a 'prototype' in Lincoln. It seem however that its 'colophon' was written in Hereford later than 1290.<sup>134</sup> The master of the Map, mentioned in the 'colophon' as Richard of Haldingham, often identified with Richard of Battle (*de Bello*), a canon of Lincoln who was a salaried cleric at Sleaford in 1265.<sup>135</sup> Many objections have nonetheless been voiced and corresponding interpretations given to the whole issue.<sup>136</sup>

22. A view from the north of Hereford's Cathedral as it is today (1999).



This Map of the World has a surround, as a sort of frame, of a margin ending in an acute-angled gable shape. The whole composition is crowned by Christ enthroned, surrounded by angels, in an attitude bringing the Second Coming to mind.<sup>137</sup> At the bottom left corner, Julius Caesar assigns the mapping of the East, the South, the North and the West respectively to Nikodemus, Didymus, Polyclitus and Theodokos.<sup>138</sup> Queries arise from the illustration at the bottom right hand corner balancing the left, depicting a mounted huntsman whose attendant blows a horn from which a 'voice' urges the horseman to 'go ahead' (*passee avant*).<sup>139</sup>



23. A diagram referring to the mapping of the uninhabited world and the topographical relation of the three continents. London, British Library (Royal Ms 6 C. 1, fo. 108v).

The Map and its design philosophy, based on older models, shows the continents surrounded by sea, Asia at the top, Jerusalem as umbilical cord at the centre of the globe and Constantinople on its left. At the base of the axis supposedly traversing the globe the Pillars of Hercules are found, to the left of which the British Isles are mapped. The continental portions of the map are covered with every sort of reproductions of buildings, cities, fortifications and churches, complemented with samples of the supposed flora and fauna belonging to each region, and the written mentions are taken from biblical, literary and historical

texts complete the picture of this 'representational encyclopaedia'.<sup>140</sup>

Finally, the words 'mappa mundi' are not found in ancient texts of latin literature. They appear for the first time in the early decades of the ninth century, corresponding to a world map, as such cartographic approaches were commonly referred to in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whatever the material substratum of their depiction. Toward the end of the thirteenth century a map of the Mediterranean is titled *mappa mundi* and the term was since incorporated in various languages. For example, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it appears in English as *mappemounde*, and continues to be used in French and Italian as *mappemonde*, *mappamondo*, meaning only medieval world map.<sup>141</sup>

24. The Map of the World at Hereford (Mappa Mundi). Hereford, Library of the cathedral.











**The theft of a book is not theft! The book guardian.** ‘Stealing a book is not a punishable act’ was the informal motto of many who dealt with books, even if it was an unwritten precept and deduced from the practice. It is certain that this was what librarians had in mind when adding imprecations and curses to manuscripts, addressed to scare those who did not return borrowed books, did not take care of them or keep them in good condition, or even did not respect their place in the library. The sovereign of every library was the librarian or *librarius*, that is the guardian angel of the books of every organized collection, a post and an institution with ancient origins, although it never was and never prevailed as a commonly accepted rule (*regula*) of bibliotheconomy over time and in multifaceted culture.

To turn our gaze to ancient times, from the classical period already, that is the years of Plato and Aristotle and particularly in the Hellenistic period, persons of high intellectual prestige are encountered as superintendents of libraries such as Aristotle himself and Theophrastus at the Athens Lyceum; Aristarchus; Aristophanes the Byzantine; Eratosthenes and Callimachus of course, who were in charge of the great Ecumenical Library of the Ptolemies in Alexandria.<sup>142</sup> Let it be reminded here that the first library catalogue to reach us today from the Western world, on bibliotheconomic criteria is Callimachus’s *Pinakes* (Lists).<sup>143</sup> Such lists had also been drawn up at what was called the rival library of Pergamum in the times of Attalus II, by Crates from Mallus who had been its superintendent.<sup>144</sup> It is noteworthy at this point that the huge wealth of books collected in the libraries of the Hellenistic world led writers of the day to compose special works-tools treating matters relating to bibliotheconomy such as Artemonas from Cassandria’s treatise about book collection and on the use of books and probably many more.<sup>145</sup>

In Roman times, from the years of Varro and Cicero, although until the last years BC there were no public or imperial libraries in Rome, these two great men of books had been occupied with bibliotheconomy in various ways: Varro, by order of Caesar, had written *De bibliothecis*, which did not survive to our days and will have referred to the setting up of the first public library in Rome with the relevant issues of its organization.<sup>146</sup> Cicero, for his part, mentions in his correspondence

*The book guardian  
in the ancient  
tradition*

25. *The Labyrinth*. ‘Plotinus described the World as God’s poetry. A poem not far from the absolute Labyrinth’. This is how the book guardian must have felt in the Middle Ages, obliged at times to live through the chaos and face to face with the indifference and disorder of ‘bibliophiles’ and reading public. Sketch by M.C. Escher, Escalier sous les voûtes, 1931. The Hague, Collection Haags Gemeentemuseum (Gordon Art BV. Baarn).



with Atticus that he has employed specialized librarians in his scattered libraries to see to classifying the books and restoring old papyrus scrolls, such as Tyrannion the Elder, Menophilos and Dionysius.<sup>147</sup> They were of Greek origin, the last two of whom worked for Pomponius Atticus at his villa in Amalfi where he had set up his publishing centre and his large library.

In imperial days, the comprehensive public libraries at the Forums and the Baths as well as the emperors' personal libraries had bibliotheconomic protection from persons given the title of *ad bibliothecis*, such as Gnaeus Pompeius Macer, who occupied this post at the Palatine library in the times of Augustus at the end of the first century BC.<sup>148</sup>

This tradition of book guardianship, of library superintendent, of supervisor, in a word; of the lord of the library, maintained into the late years of the Roman Empire, was still of prestige in the early years of Christianity. They were in fact present in the Eastern Roman Empire at the time of Constantine II (337-361) on the occasion of the inauguration of the first university and library in Constantinople, which initially operated under the supervision of Themistios (ca. 313-388). A law of 372 concerning the sub-prefect of Constantinople Klearchos specifies that *conditionales* must be employed to take care of the library to serve the reading public as bibliotheconomists.<sup>149</sup>

As far as I know, the most comprehensive text in the Middle Ages until the late years of the Carolingian Renaissance – referring to the *modus operandi* of a library, whether of a monastery or secular – is the one composed and put into practice by the abbot Theodoros at the Studion Monastery in Constantinople in the eighth century.<sup>150</sup> According to this rule, a particular time for reading was specified for the monks and there were penalties for those who did not take care of the books they borrowed as well as for the book guardian who did not adhere to the bibliothconomic rules of the relevant text of the *Hypotyposis*. The term 'bibliophylax' (book guardian) is mentioned in Byzantine writings of the eighth century, and in the Latin translation as *librorum custos* in the *Liber pontificalis* of the ninth century.<sup>151</sup> In the Basilian monasteries of Southern Italy the book guardian is mentioned in several Rules, such that of the monastery of Saint Nicholas of Casoli, in whose Rule there is brief mention of a book guardian in 1173.<sup>152</sup>

For the title of library supervisor in the West, both initially in the monastic and in the nobles' and school libraries constituted later in the premises of copying centres at the scriptoria of the cathedrals and finally at the university schools, many synonyms are found, such as *bibliothecarius*; *repositor librorum*; *librorum repositories*; *custos librorum*; *custos bibliotheca*, *custos armarii*, *et al.*<sup>153</sup> Despite the im-



portant role of the book guardian of the library in the Middle Ages at various times and according to circumstance, however, the position was very late in becoming an institution in the rules of the monastic tradition. If the diverse data and testimonies are summarized that refer both to duties of the book guardian in monastery and university life and the demands formulated relevant to his particularity and obligations, it will be observed that they form an *arc for books*: from the simple guardianship of manuscripts on practical criteria to the conscious consideration of his role in the preservation and perpetuation of knowledge in general.

While remembering and to remind of persons who undertook and performed the duties of library superintendents at this point, mentioned and defined in a variety of archival material, it must also be taken into account that a respectable number of library guardians remains anonymous: Holy Augustine had entrusted his library's guardianship to a certain Firmus, who also undertook other missions for him, and Jerome too must have employed a similar person to organize his extensive library.<sup>154</sup> The monk Augustine will also have been a book guardian, who was sent by Pope Gregory the Great to convert the English, travelling to Canterbury carrying a load of manuscripts.<sup>155</sup>

It is also possible that Theodorus and Hadrian, who continued his work there carried out bibliotheconomic duties for their own account in the diocesan library until



26. *The Gospel, the personification of Christ as transubstantiated Word is often depicted in diptychs, with the Apostles Peter and Paul. This is Apostle Paul, an ivory panel of the sixth century. Paris, Cluny Museum (G. Dagli Orti).*







Bede, Biscop, Alcuin and other intellectuals of the British Isles radically altered the world of books there.<sup>156</sup>

When Alcuin came to Charlemagne's court he decisively contributed to the composition of the first great library of a ruler in the West, while from 828 at least, in the time of Louis the Pious the post of imperial book guardian seems to have been instituted, the *palatius bibiothecarius*, occupied at that time by Gerward from Lorsch.<sup>157</sup> The book guardian was an institution, since when unknown, also at Corbie Abbey's imperial library, as Hadoardus is first mentioned in its chronicle in the mid-ninth century.<sup>158</sup>

At times, the competence of book guardian was not only a matter for the internal regulations of some monastery and also occupied even highly placed Church officials, as in the case of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181). In a particular letter addressed to the abbot of Corbie Abbey, when Alardus Armarius held the post of librarian, the pope specified his salary and his obligations in regard to keeping the manuscripts in good condition, as well as their re-binding.<sup>159</sup>

Before special premises were installed for books to be kept and at the same time made available to readers and students, a person often called *armarius* had exclusive responsibility for keeping books in chests and cupboards. Thereafter the multiplication of this type of storage – as in the case of the papal library at Avignon and the library of the college of the Sorbonne – led to the selection or installation of rooms to house more than one cupboard and desk, for these spaces to operate on bibliotheconomic criteria.<sup>160</sup> The book guardian was charged with putting the manuscripts in their proper place every day, checking the condition in which they were delivered by the readers and borrowers and keeping an archive of the material used by the members of the monastic or university community. He was often chosen to draw up catalogues and inventories, the reflecting mirror of each library, and he also undertook the registration of the manuscripts reaching the libraries from bequests and donations as well as incorporating them in the main body of the library.<sup>161</sup>

It was the librarian, again, who affixed the mention or stamp of ownership that had to be shown on every manuscript, and he chose its type, whether *ex libris* or mark. This marking did not initially have the emblematic character it later acquired, it was but a written indication such as 'Liber sancte Marie de Fontibus' or

Duties  
of the book  
guardian

27. A librarian (?) is shown at Fontenelle Abbey next to an open chest with codices, whose lid is supported by a cross-beam. Illumination from the edition; Chronique majeure de Fontenelle, last quarter of the eleventh century. Le Havre B.M. (Ms 332, fo. 41v).



‘Liber sancte Marie Rieuallis’ as was usual in the Cistercian monasteries.<sup>162</sup> This abbreviated mark of ownership is found in many variations in the books of diverse monastic orders, mainly of the Benedictines who often added anathemas and curses to protect the manuscript material from theft and indifference to bibliothecomic rules.<sup>163</sup> The Cistercians of Vaux-le-Cernay near Paris protected their books with the addition of anathema as a ‘title’ in their catalogues: ‘If someone should attempt to misuse a volume insidiously or any other way, let his name be erased from the living, may he not be registered among the righteous but be fed to the flames of Hell to be tortured in eternity’.<sup>164</sup>

From the mid-twelfth century however the rules initially instituted by the Order of Cistercians radically altered also the regulation for the movement of books in the monasteries of other orders, and special duties were assigned to the book guardians.<sup>165</sup> A typical excerpt is from the 14th chapter of the rule of the Augustine monastery at Barnwell near Cambridge:<sup>166</sup>

*For the safe preservation of the books,  
And the duties of the librarian (armarius)*

The book guardian, whose work was at times taken on by the lead chorist, had to take care of the church’s books and not only know how many they were but their titles too. He also had to examine them carefully and often, to avoid any damage from insects or conditions leading to decomposition. He was furthermore obliged, every year at the beginning of Lent, to ensure the Chapter House had books to be read when the time came for the souls of those who had been dedicated to the monastic life, or the brothers who had written and toiled for them, to be forgiven, and a service was sung for them in church.

He furthermore had to provide the brothers with the books suitable to every circumstance and keep a file with their titles and names of the borrowers. At the same time, the borrowers were responsible for their safety and had no right to lend them to others, whether they knew them or not, without the previous approval of the librarian. Neither did the librarian have the right to lend books if a guarantee/collateral of equal value was not deposited, while he then had to note the name of the borrower, the book’s title and the guarantee



received. He had no right to lend the more voluminous or valuable books to anybody, whether or not they were known to him, without permission from the bishop [...]

Books that had to be available for daily use, either for hymn singing or reading had to be kept in a place that was accessible for the members of the brotherhood and every monk in case he wished to consult or control them or any other reason he considered necessary. The books could additionally not be taken to the monks' cells or out of the monastery or church.

The book guardian had to keep them clean, repair them carefully and, if the brothers noticed any mistake in the texts during the daily service (reading – hymn singing), they were to be noted on the page. No brother could erase or alter anything in the texts unless he had previously obtained permission from the book guardian [...]

The cupboard in which the books were kept had to be of wood so as to avoid damp and staining of the books. The cupboard had to have vertical and horizontal divisions, with solid shelves on which the manuscripts were to be placed in order with a space between them, for fear of damage from daily use.

Finally all the books had to be corrected and cared for by the librarian as well as properly bound by him.

According to the intellectual level and cultivation of each librarian, he suffered from the frequently thoughtless treatment of Church officials or laymen in the care of their own books. Not only did they borrow from the church's library and did not return them, they also encouraged or gave rights to members of their circle to do the same. Such instances have repeatedly been encountered, as in the case of Gilles Mallet at the time of composition of France's royal library.<sup>167</sup> The problem was however not so acute in the personal or princely libraries as it was in the schools and universities mainly. That was where the misappropriation or borrowing without return were obstacles to the preparation of the curriculum and reduced the credibility of research projects, because of the loss of multiple copies of certain rare texts.

The ongoing drain on libraries is attested by the various catalogues drawn up at times, which are at the same time indisputable testimony to the books that have not come down to us. It has to be thought a certainty that the necessity of the composition of a 'gospel' of books was felt by many, but he who was able to record its



excerpts, adored books and was a passionate collector was Richard de Bury in his *Philobiblon*, to which reference was made above:<sup>168</sup>

### *Philobiblon*

*In Books we find the dead as it were living; in Books we foresee things to come; in Books warlike affairs are methodized; the rights of peace proceed from Books. All things are corrupted and decay with time. Saturn never ceases to devour those whom he generates; insomuch that the glory of the world would be lost in oblivion if God had not provided mortals with a remedy in Books. Alexander the ruler of the world; Julius the invader of the world and of the city, the first who in unity of person assumed the empire in arms and arts; the faithful Fabricius, the rigid Cato, would at this day have been without a memorial if the aid of Books had failed them.*

*Towers are razed to the earth, cities overthrown, triumphal arches mouldered to dust; not can the King or Pope be found, upon whom the privilege of a lasting name can be conferred more easily than by Books. A Book made, renders succession to the author: for as long as the Book exists, the author remaining ἀθάνατος, inimortal, cannot perish [...]. The holy Boetius attributes a threefold existence to Truth, – in the mind, in the voice, and in writing; it appears to abide most usefully and fructify most productively of advantage in Books.*

*For the Truth of the voice perishes with the sound. Truth latent in the mind, is hidden wisdom and invisible treasure; but the Truth which illuminates Books desires to manifest itself to every disciplinable sense, to the sight when read, to the hearing when heard: it, moreover, in a manner commends itself to the touch, when submitting to be transcribed, collated, corrected and preserved.*

*Truth confined to the mind, though it may be the possession of a noble soul, while it wants a companion and is not judged of, either by the sight, or the hearing, appears to be inconsistent with pleasure.*

*But the Truth of the voice is open to the hearing only, and latent to the sight (which shows us many differences of things fixed upon by a most subtle motion, beginning and ending as it were simultaneously).*

*But the Truth written in a Book, being not fluctuating, but permanent, shows itself openly to the sight, passing through the spiritual*



ways of the eyes, as the porches and halls of common sense and imagination; it enters the chamber of intellect, reposes itself upon the couch of memory, and there congenerates the eternal Truth of the mind.

Lastly, let us consider how great a commodity of doctrine exists in Books, how easily, how secretly, how safely they expose the nakedness of human ignorance without putting it to shame. These are the masters who instruct us without rods and ferules, without hard words and anger, without clothes or money. If you approach them, they are not asleep; if investigating you interrogate them, they conceal nothing; if you mistake them, they never grumble; if you are ignorant, they cannot laugh at you.

Free translation into English of the *Philobiblon*, which was originally written in Latin in 1334 and published in 1473, by J.B. Inglis (London, 1832).

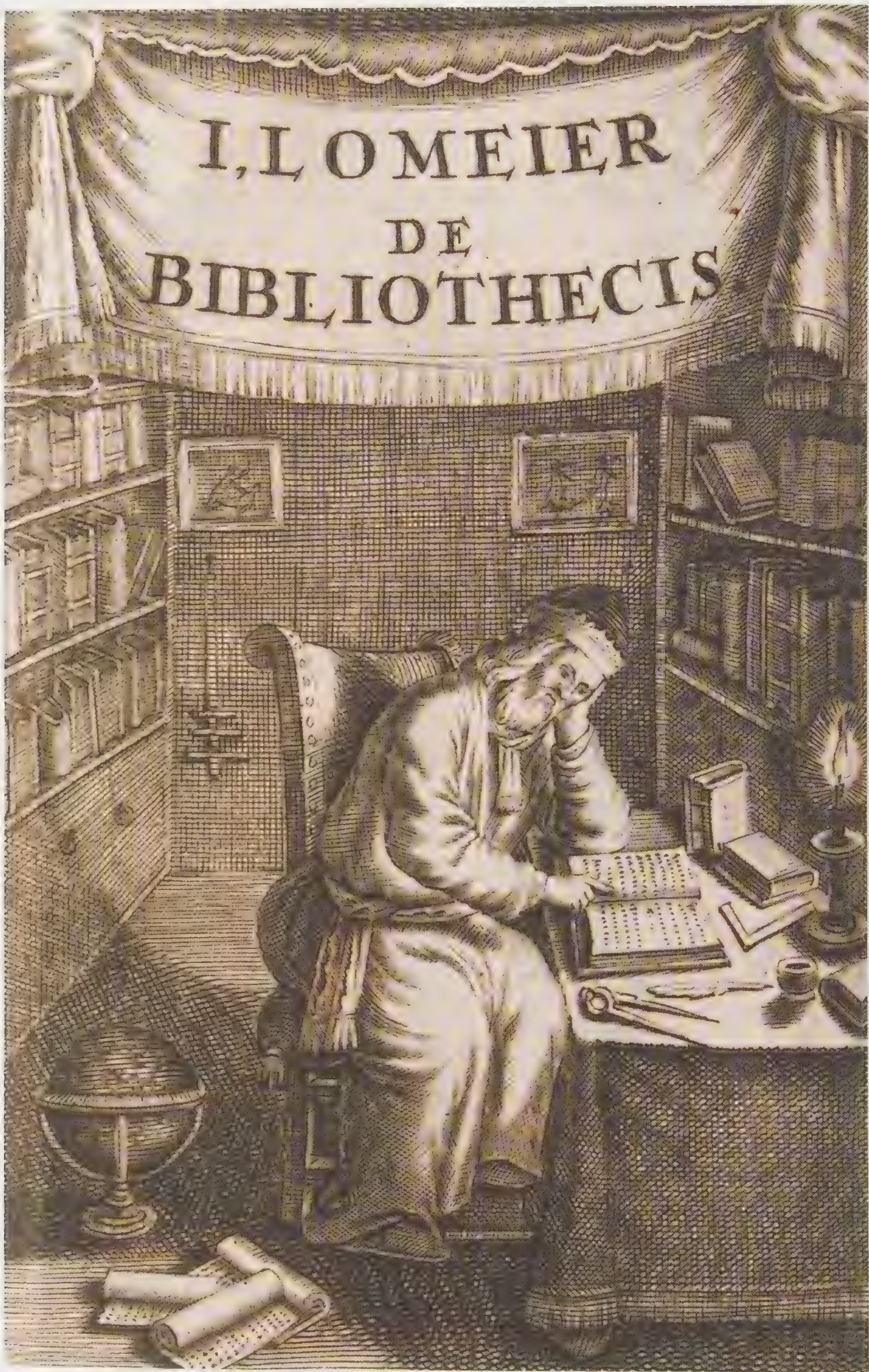
It is not our intention to refer here to all the book guardians and the diverse libraries where they worked, nor to mention their working conditions or the differences in their work. In essence, all who were in the service of books over time in a corresponding post had similar sensibilities and were aware of their role: they were the guardian angels of knowledge. I do not know if autobiographies of librarians have survived or references to the harsh conditions in which many were called upon to perform their mission. But I do know of a relevant testimony of bibliophily: a cry from the heart, the confessions of a *custos* of a library in the service of the emperor Maximilian II, in the sixteenth century, which may be the sole such document of any length. It was by Hugo Blotius, who wrote in the



28. The 'crazy librarian', woodcut from the publication: Sebastian Brant, *La Nef des folz du monde*, Paris [Félix Baligault; for] Geoffroy de Marnef and Johann Philippi (Manstener), 1497.



I, L O M E I E R  
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introduction to the catalogue he made in 1575: 'In what condition, my God, did we find the library last July! How uncared for and untidy everything was, what damage wrought by insects and worms, and the whole covered in cobwebs...'<sup>169</sup>

Blotius had a dream for the imperial library and believed he was in a position to constitute the 'Bibliotheca generis humani' that would surpass all other royal libraries in riches. With this as his ambition, the fate of the imperial library became intimately connected to his personal life, while even his family problems had direct repercussions on the library throughout his career, all the more because the emperor was not correct, delaying payment of his salary for three years, which obliged Blotius to find additional work outside the library. He had recommended to the emperor that a rule for the library should immediately be drawn up, but although librarians had been engaged from 1583 and the courtiers showed a lively interest in the promotion of the imperial collection, the library continued to operate on



30. Medal with the portrait of Hugo Blotius.

and off and without the proper respectful treatment of the books due to the value of the manuscripts. Lending books to members of the aristocracy became a habit, and Blotius encouraged this policy on his own initiative, as he considered that 'a library that stays closed is like a candle in a barrel, that may burn yet gives light to nobody.'

Blotius was profoundly conscious of the role books played in intellectual life, and that the valuable manuscripts of the imperial library held unique material. He frequently wrote to his brother with complaints on the course of the library and his incapacity to impose all his bibliophile's conscience dictated, on the frivolity of the courtiers in view of the treasure at their disposal, as well as his exhaustion and responsibility he felt together with his disappointment – all of which was completely contrary to the words he had spoken at the time of his engagement. That was in 1575, when at first view of the library he had exclaimed: 'O! imperial library, O! glorification of the Muses, O! sweetness of my life, I salute you. I salute you, sole hope of my spirit.'

29. Etching depicting Johannes Lomeier in his library, from the publication: *De Bibliothecis*, Utrecht, Johannes Ribius, 1680. It is the second issue of a significant treatise referring mainly to the great European libraries of the seventeenth century, not failing to mention the libraries of the ancient world as well. The author, J. Lomeier (1636-1699) had taught literature at the Zutphen Academy.







## NOTES

### VII

#### Late Medieval Ages







## NOTES

1. Relative to Lovato and his circle, see A.Ch. Megas, 'Ο προουμανιστικὸς κύκλος τῆς Πάδουας (*Lovato Lovati – Albertino Mussato*) καὶ οἱ τραγωδίες τοῦ *L.A. Seneca*. (= *The pre-Humanistic circle of Padua [Lovato Lovati – Albertino Mussato] and the Tragedies of L.A. Seneca*), Thessaloniki, 1967 and Reynolds, L.D. – Wilson N.G., *Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ Φιλόλογοι. Τὸ ἱστορικὸ τῆς παράδοσης τῶν κλασικῶν κειμένων* (= *Copiers and Philologists. The history of the tradition of classical texts*), transl. by N.M. Panayiotakis, Athens, MIET, 1981, 150-151 and Staikos, vol. V (under publication).
2. The characterization *bibliophile* is first encountered in Strabo's *Geographia*: 'rather a bibliophile than a philosopher' (XIII, 1, 54, 19). The term is repeated by John Chrysostom in the *Pseudoprophet* (LIX, pp. 533, 40, 41) and mentioned in the *Suda* with reference to Damophilos. Finally, the same term is used by Eustathius of Thessaloniki in his text (Chapter CXLIV, 20).
3. De Bury's choice to entitle his work *Philobiblon* probably derives from his love of Greek learning. In the school he directed in Durham Cathedral, de Bury was in charge of organizing the curriculum. Not only did he indicate the texts and commentaries for study by the pupils, he also made every effort to inculcate systematic teaching of Greek, mainly, and other Eastern languages: Hebrew for the sacred texts and Arabic for astronomy. He had provided the school with Greek and Hebrew grammars to assist the pupils in their studies. See Ch. I. Elton – Mary Augusta Elton, *Great Book-Collectors*, London 1893, 53 ff.
4. See Stephanie Dunn, *Richard de Bury*, Private Publication: Valdosta, Georgia 2009.
5. In his *Philobiblon* de Bury made no secret of the diverse methods he employed to collect his books. See M.B. Parkes, 'The provision of books', *HUO* 2 (1992), 423-424 and in general, Jenny Stratford – Teresa Webber, 'Bishops and Kings: private book collections in Medieval England', *LBI*, 192-193.
6. See Jenny Stratford, 'The early royal collections and the Royal Library to 1461', *CHBB* III (1999), 259-260 and C.R. Cheney, 'Richard de Bury, borrower of Books', *Speculum* 48 (1973), 325-328.
7. See H.T. Riley (ed.), *Gesta abbatum sancti Albani*, 3 vols., RS, London, 1867-1869, vol. 2, 200.
8. See N.R. Ker, 'Richard de Bury's books from the Library of St. Albans', *BLR* 3 (1950-51), 177-179 and R.M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey, 1066-1235*, 2 vols., Woodbridge, 1987<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1, Nos. 34, 48, 60.
9. Relative to his wish to found a college, see M. Maclagan (ed.), *Philobiblon Richardi de Bury: the text and translation of E.C. Thomas*, Oxford 1960, 168-169; N. Delholm-Young, 'Richard de Bury (1287-1345) and the *Liber Epistolaris*', *TRHS*, s. 4, 20 (1937), 135-168 and R. Weiss, 'The private collector and the revival of Greek learning', F. Wormald – C. Wright, *English library* (1958), 112-135.
10. See Stratford – Webber, 'Bishops and Kings', *op. cit.*, 191.
11. See J.L. Thornton, *Selected Readings in the History of Librarianship*, London, The Library Association, 1966 and Maclagan (ed.), *Philobiblon*, *op. cit.*, and pp. 322-324 herein.



12. See A. Altamura, *Ricardo de Bury, Philobiblon*, Napoli, 1954, 125-126.
13. See A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, vols. 2, Oxford 1957-1959, 801.
14. J. Grandisson drew up his will in 1368; see F. Rose-Troup, 'Bishop Grandisson: student and art lover', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 60 (1928), 249-255 and M.W. Steel, *A study of the books owned or used by John Grandisson bishop of Exeter (1327-1369)*, doctoral dissertation (unpublished), Oxford University, 1994.
15. See Stratford – Webber, 'Bishops and Kings', *op. cit.*, 194-195.
16. *Ibid.*, 194.
17. *Ibid.*, 195.
18. See S.H. Cavanaugh, *A study of books privately owned in England 1300-1450*, 2 vols., doctoral dissertation (unpublished), University of Pennsylvania, 1980.
19. See Emden, *A biographical*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1095-97.
20. See N.R. Ker, 'Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Priory', *TCBS* 1 (1949-1953), 10, 17, 18 and Stratford – Webber, 'Bishops and Kings', *op. cit.*, 196.
21. See Patricia Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières et privées aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles', *HBF*, 177-178.
22. In reference to Elanor's literary preferences, her intellectual circle and her library, see p. 303.
23. See Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques', *op. cit.*, 184.
24. See A. Henry (ed.), *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, Bruges 1951 and Stirnemann 'Les bibliothèques', *op. cit.*, 184.
25. See Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques', *op. cit.*, 184.
26. *Ibid.*
27. See L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 vols., Paris, P.H. Champion, 1907; Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1988, 5-10 and Denise Bloch, 'La formation de la Bibliothèque du Roi', *HBF* 312 ff.
28. See Delisle, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 7-8, 367-368 and Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, *op. cit.*, 5.
29. See Delisle, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 14-15, 120-124, and Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, *op. cit.*, 6.
30. See *La Librairie de Charles V, Catalogue de l'Exposition*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1968; Bloch, 'La formation', *op. cit.*, 312 and Fr. Autard, 'La librairie de Charles V', *Les Bibliothèques Parisiennes. Architecture et décor*, Myriam Bach – Chr. Hottin (eds.) Action artistique de la ville de Paris, undated, 41-43.
31. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, *op. cit.*, 7.
32. On G. Mallet, see Delisle, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 10-22.  
In 1411, date of Mallet's death, a new catalogue was made of the library by Jean le Bègue; see G. Raynard, 'Oudart Bouschet, rédacteur de l'inventaire de "La Librairie" du Louvre en 1411', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, XV-XVI, 188-189.
33. See J.J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire de Jean, duc de Berry, 1401-1416*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1894-1896 and M. Meiss, *French paintings in the time of Jean de Berry, the late XIV<sup>th</sup> Century and the patronage of the Duke*, London 1967.  
The manuscripts written for account of the duc de Berry and his family, such as the *The Book Hours* are famous for their rich painted ornamentation. The most renowned is the *Très Riches Heures* of the



duc de Berry, considered the most valuable of all times for its illuminations among other things. It was done by the illuminator brothers Paul, Hermann and Jean Limburg (with later additions) in Paris and in Bourges in 1410 and 1416 and from 1485 to 1498; see also R. Cazelles, *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Très Riches Heures*, New York 1988.

34. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, op. cit., 8-9.

35. The lack of respect is worth noting toward the royal collection that also contained exceptional examples of the art of illumination of the period, as is shown by the new inventory made after the death of Mallet, that 188 manuscripts were missing; Fr. Avril, *La Librairie de Charles V*, Paris 1968, 46.

36. The Duke of Bedford did not confine himself to buying books in France, he also ordered codices of high illumination artwork such as that called *The Bedford Hours*, comprising the *Psalter*, dating to about 1414-1423. The manuscript was written in London, the work of Hermann Scheere and his assistants; see E. König, *The Bedford Hours. The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece*, London, The British Library, 2007 and in general Jenny Stratford, 'The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel', *England in the Fifteenth Century, The Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, D. Williams (ed.), Woodbridge 1987, 329-350 and Id., *The Bedford Inventories. The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435)*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, (No. XLIX), London 1993.

37. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, op. cit., 10 ff.

38. S. de Plumetot had been anonymous for centuries until he became the object of

broader studies. See G. Ouy, 'Simon de Plumetot (1371-1444) et sa bibliothèque', *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, Gand 1979, 353-381 and 2 Pls., and Id., 'Les premiers humanistes et leurs livres', *HBF*, 279, 282.

39. See Ouy, 'Les premiers humanistes', op. cit., 282.

40. On Nicolas Poillevilain, known as *de Clamanges* (ca. 1362-1437) and Jean le Charlier, known as *de Gerson* (1362-1429), see Ouy, 'Les premiers humanistes', op. cit., 270, 275.

41. See p. 32.

42. See p. 114. On the arrangement of the mission to England by Augustine and the various trips of clerics and missionaries to Rome in search of books.

43. See F. Ehrle, *Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1, Berlin, 1895, 24-41.

44. See F. Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avignonensis*, vol. 1, Rome, 1890, 26-100.

45. See A. Pelzer, *Addenda et emendanda ad Francisci Ehrle Historiae*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano, 1947, 25-37.

46. See Ehrle, *Historia*, I, op. cit., 324-364 and Palzer, *Addenda*, op. cit., 38-66.

47. See in general Y. Renouard, *La Papauté à Avignon*, Paris, PUF, 1969<sup>3</sup>; G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon (1305-1378)*, Paris 1965; B. Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon 1309-1376, Étude d'une société*, Paris, Éditions De Boccard, 1966.

48. See Dr. G. Colombe, *Au palais des papes d'Avignon XI. 'La 'Libraria magna' das la Tour des Anges*, Paris 1902.

49. On the chronicle of the papal library at Avignon, see M. Faucon (ed.), *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon, sa formation, sa composition, ses catalogues (1316-1420) d'après*



- les registres de compte et d'inventaires des Archives vaticanes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886-1887; M.-H. Jullien de Pommerol – J. Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *HBF*, 147-169 and *Id.*, *La Bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñiscola pendant the Grand Schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols., Rome, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 1991, 141.
50. See Ehrle, *Historia*, I, op. cit., 165 and 549-560.
51. See N. Valois, 'Jacques Duèse, pape sous le nom de Jean XXII', *Histoire littéraire de la France* 34 (1914), 521 and de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 148-150.
52. See T. Kaeppli O.P., *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, Roma 1975, 413.
53. See R. Meyer, *Romania* 21 (1892), 452.
54. See Ehrle, *Historia*, I, op. cit., 145-147.
55. *Ibid.*, 147-154.
56. *Ibid.*, 144-154.
57. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 136-137.
58. See Ehrle, *Historia*, I, op. cit., 136-137.
59. *Ibid.*, 137-138.
60. See L. Chappelli, 'Una netevole libreria Napoletana del Trecento'. *Studi medievali*, n.s. 1928, 456-470.
61. See M. Vattasso – P. Franchi, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, Roma 1902, 51-63.
62. See Ch. Samaran – G. Mollat, *La Fiscalité pontificale en France au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rome 1905, 47-55 and G. Mollat, 'À propos du droit de dépouille', *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 29 (1933), 316-347.
63. See D. Williman, *Records of the papal right of spoil, 1316-1412*, Paris 1974.
64. See Ehrle, *Historia*, I, op. cit., 194-246.
65. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 151-152 and L. Carolus-Barré, 'Bibliothèques médiévales inédites d'après les Archives du Vatican', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 53 (1936), 334-378.
66. See M.-H. Jullien de Pommerol, 'Guillaume d'Ortolan, évêque de Rodez, at la bibliothèque de l'évêché', *B.E.C.* 144 (1986), 269-273.
67. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 151.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 152, 155.
71. See Ehrle, *Historia*, I, op. cit., 454-532 and de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 155.
72. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 152, 155.
73. *Ibid.*, 155.
74. *Ibid.*
75. See Colombe, *Au palais des papes d'Avignon*, op. cit., 17-19.
76. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 157.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. See Faucon (ed.), *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, op. cit., vol. 2, 27-33 and de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 157.
80. See Colombe, *Au palais des papes d'Avignon*, op. cit., 11.
81. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 157-158.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Paris, lat. 5156 A = Faucon (ed.), *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, op. cit., vol. 2, 43-150.
84. See Biblioteca de Catalunya, mss 233 and 235 = J. Serrano – J. Perarnau (eds.), 'Dar-



- rer inventari de la biblioteca papal de Peñiscola (1423)', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, VI, 1987, 49-183 and J. Perarnau, 'Darrer inventari de la biblioteca privada de Benet XIII (1423)', *Arxiu de Textos*, op. cit., 184-226.
85. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 160.
86. Catalogue published by A. Maier, 'Der Katalog der päpstlichen Bibliothek in Avignon vom Jahr 1411', *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, 77-157.
87. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 160 and in relation to the college of Roure, see M. Fournier, *Les statuts et privileges des universités françaises depuis leur foundation jusqu'en 1789*, vol. 2, Paris, 1891 and Maier, 'Der Katalog', op. cit., 195.
88. See Maier, 'Der Katalog', op. cit., 167-186.
89. *Ibid.*, 187-248.
90. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 160.
91. *Ibid.*
92. See F. Baron, *Le cardinal Pierre de Foix le Vieux (1386-1464) et ses légations*, Amiens, Yvert et Tellier, 1920, 162 and E. Müntz, 'La Tiae pontificae du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 36 (1897), 235-324.
93. The catalogue of the library made after the death of de Foix has been lost and we know of its contents from a nineteenth century copy, signed by Cardinal Ehrle; see de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 160.
94. See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. 1, Paris 1874, 494-509.
95. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 160-161.
96. See the Introduction by R.A.B. Mynors – R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, with a Contribution on the Bindings by M. Gullick, Published on Behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral, D.S. Brewer, 1993, XV.
97. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XVI.
98. *Ibid.*, XVII.
- Robert Losinga (Lotharingian) was a member of a significant group of clerics who settled in England on the wish of the kings Cnut and Edward the Confessor. Robert, who succeeded Walter as bishop – who was a member of the group of Lotharingians – came to be a determining figure in the diocese. Educated at the Liège cathedral school, he came to England probably on the invitation of King William I and established new methods and practices for the operation of a 'modern' diocese, meanwhile collaborating with the archbishop of Canterbury Lanfranc (1079-1089) in upgrading the organization of the Church of England; see Julia Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the church of Hereford, 1079-1095', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (Leeds, 1995), 29-47 and *Id.*, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche, 1056-1268', *Hereford Cathedral. A History*, G. Aylmer – J. Tiller (eds.), London/Rio Grande, Hambledon Press, 200, 23-27.
99. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XVII.
- What is known as the *Hereford Gospel* was written and illuminated by the same scribe and its illumination is confined to initial letter headings that in fact as a rule



do not project in the margins of the text. For more details, see R. Gameson, 'The Hereford Gospels', *Hereford Cathedral*, op. cit., 539-543.

100. See R.W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', *Essays in Medieval History*, R.W. Southern (ed.), London 1968, 100-111.
101. See C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, Cambridge Mass, 1926<sup>2</sup>, 333-335 and W.H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22 (1907), 72-84.
102. See Hunt, 'English Learning', op. cit., 121-122.
103. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XVII-XVIII and R.W. Southern, 'Humanism in the School of Chartres', *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford 1970, 61-85.
104. See pp. 322 and 325 respectively.
105. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XVIII.
106. *Ibid.*; See also *English Episcopal acts VII: Hereford 1079-1234*, J. Barrow (ed.), Oxford 1993, XXXVII-XLIII.
107. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XVIII and C. de Hamel, 'Hereford Cathedral Library Medieval Manuscripts', *HCL*, 1986.
108. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XVIII-XIX.
109. *Ibid.*, XIX.
110. *Ibid.*, XX; see also Joan Williams, 'The Library', *Hereford Cathedral*, op. cit., 513.
111. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XX.
112. *Ibid.*, XX. One of Trefnart's books included in his will (1404), *Missales*, had then been valued at 24 English pounds; see S.H. Cavanaugh, *A study of books*, op. cit., 874. On Trefnart in general, see W.E.

Lunt – E.B. Graves (eds.), *Accounts Rendered by Papal Collectors in England, 1317-78*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 70, Philadelphia/Pennsylvania, 1968, 422.

113. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XX.
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. See H. Bradshaw – C. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge 1897, II, 71; A.T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford*, London 1924, 58 and Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXI.
117. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXI and N.R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, London 1964<sup>2</sup>, 268.
118. See B.H. Streeter, *The Chained Library*, Oxford 1931, 349.
119. *Ibid.*, 88-89.
120. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXII.
121. *Ibid.*; see also *Duke Humfrey's Library & the Divinity School 1488-1988*, Oxford The Bodleian Library, 1988, 14-16. Although the greater part of de Cobham's library was housed in an area above the annex building next to St. Mary's College, it is not known whether the library operated before 1412; see D.R. Leader, *A history of the University of Cambridge to 1546*, Cambridge, 1988, 224 and Parkes, 'The provision of books', op. cit., 470-472.
122. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXIV and Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries*, op. cit., 268.
123. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXIV.
124. *Ibid.*, XXIV; on John Grandisson's library, see pp. 324-325.



125. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXV. In general see G. Bill, 'Christ Church and Hereford Cathedral Libraries and the Bodleian', *BLR* 4 (1952), 145-149 and P.E. Morgan, *Hereford Cathedral Libraries and Muni-ments*, Hereford 1975<sup>2</sup>, 6-13.
  126. See A.J. Winnington-Ingram, 'Thomas Thorn(e)ton', *TWNFC* 35 (1955-57), 209-211.
  127. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXV.
  128. See E. Bernard, *Catalogus Manuacriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, London 1697.
  129. See Mynors – Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, op. cit., XXVI.
  130. *Ibid.* On the chronicle of the library up to our days see Williams, 'The Library', op. cit., 520-535.
  131. See J.W. Clark, M.A. *The Care of Books. An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the earliest times to the end of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1901, 175.
  132. See W.L. Bewan – H.W. Phillott, *Mediaeval Geography: An Essay in Illustration of the Herford Mappa Mundi*, London/Hereford 1873. G.R. Crone, *Memoir accompanying Reproductions of Early Maps, III. The World Map by Richard of Hald-ingham in Hereford Cathedral circa AD 1285*, London 1954; P.D.A. Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', *Hereford Cathedral*, op. cit., 557-562 and for a brief overview by Id., *Mappa Mundi. The Hereford World Map*, Hereford Cathedral, 2002.
  133. See B. Hahn-Woernle, *Die Ebstorfer Welt-karte*, Ebstorf [1988] and an English abridgement by A. Wolf, 'News of the Ebstorf world map: date, origins, author-ship', *Géographie du monde au moyen âge et à la renaissance*, M. Pelletier (ed.), Mi-nistère de l'Éducation Nationale. Comité de Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Mémoires de la Section de Géographie, 15, Paris, 1989, 51-68.
  134. See Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', op. cit., 7.
  135. See N. Denholm-Young, 'The Mappa Mundi of Richard of Haldingham at Hereford', *Speculum* 32 (1957), 307-314. Emden, *A biographical*, op. cit., vol. 1, 556; W.N. Yates, 'The Authorship of the Hereford Mappa Mundi in the Career of Richard de Bello', *TWNFC* 41 (1974), 165-172 and Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', op. cit., 559-560.
  136. See V.I.J. Flint, 'The Hereford map: its au-thor(s), two scenes and a border', *TWNFC*, n.s. 6, 8 (1998) and Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', op. cit., 560.
  137. See Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', op. cit., 1-19.
  138. The chronicle of the Roman cartography of regions dates to the 2nd century BC, specifically to 174, when after his victori-ous expedition to Sardinia Tiberius Sem-pronius Gracchus dedicated a table (*ta-bula*) to Jove on which a map (*forma*) of Sardinia wa engraved. The tradition of the science of cartography, going back decades before the times of Alexander the Great, has Greek roots. It is besides known that a Greek *topographer*, Dimi-trios from Alexandria, was living in Rome from 164 BC.
- Julius Caesar's initiative for the elabora-tion of a study on a description of the world – not necessarily accompanied by maps – from three sources: the *Cosmogra-phia Iulii Caesaris*, an anonymous *Cosmo-graphia* and Hereford's *Mappa Mundi*. The four afore-mentioned Greeks under-took Caesar's project in 44 BC. According to the ancient sources it took these geog-raphers more than twenty years each to



- execute his mission and the project was therefore completed in the times of Octavian. See J.B. Harley – D. Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, vol. 1, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1987, 205-207.
139. See Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', *op. cit.*, 558.
140. See G.R. Crone, 'New light on the Hereford map', *Geographical Journal* 131 (1965), 447-462 and J. Glenn, 'Notes on the *mappa mundi* in Hereford Cathedral', *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, W.M. Ormrod (ed.), Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 1986, 60-63.
141. See Harvey, 'Mappa Mundi', *op. cit.*, 26.
142. See Staikos I. 114 ff. and 177-185.
143. *Ibid.*, 186.
144. *Ibid.*, 255.
145. It is the grammarian who lived in Pergamon and collected book with purely bibliographical content; see Athenaios, *Deipnosophists*, XII, 515e and XV, 694a.
146. See Staikos II, 65, 106, 132.
147. *Ibid.*, 83.
148. *Ibid.*, 136.
149. See P. Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος βυζαντινός οὐμανισμός: Σημειώσεις καὶ παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση καὶ τὴν παιδεία στὸ Βυζάντιο ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς ὡς τὸν 10ο αἰῶνα (= *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*), greek translation by Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Athens, MIET, 1981, 61 and *Theod. Cod.* XI, 9, 10.
150. See Staikos III, 190-191.
151. See A. Vernet, 'Du "Chartophylax" au "Librarian"', *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au Moyen Âge*, Actes de la table ronde, Paris 24-26 septembre 1987, Olga Weijers (ed.), Brepols 1989, 155-167.
152. See Staikos III, 289-291 and H. Omont, 'Le Typicon de Saint-Nicolas di Casole près d'Otrante, Notice du ms C. III, 17 de Turin', *Revue des Études Grecques* 3 (1890), 391.
153. See Vernet, 'Du "Chartophylax"', *op. cit.*, 157-160 and R. Sharpe, 'The medieval librarian', *LBI*, 218-241.
154. See p. 64 and p. 61 respectively.
155. See pp. 114-115.
156. See pp. 115 ff.
157. See p. 154.
158. See p. 198.
159. See p. 198 and L. Delisle, 'Recherches sur l'ancienne bibliothèque de Corbie', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 24 (1862), 281, 296-297.
160. See p. 293 and p. 341.
161. See p. 293.
162. See Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques cisterciennes dans la France médiévale: repertoire des abbayes d'hommes*, Paris 1991 and Id., *Bibliothèque de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'Ancien Régime*, Paris 2000.
163. See M. Drogin, *Anathema! Medieval Scribes and the History of Book Curses*, Totowa NJ, 1983; Fr. Dolbeau, 'Les usagers des bibliothèques', *HBF*, 398-401; A.E. Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999 and Sahrpe, 'The medieval librarian', *op. cit.*, 233-234.
164. See H. Martin, *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, Paris 1886, 39.
165. See *Les Monuments primitives de la Règle Cistercienne*, Ph. Guignard (ed.), Dijon, 1878, 237.



166. See *The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell*, J.W. Clark (ed.), Cambridge, 1897, 15.

167. See p. 329.

168. Excerpt from Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, written in Latin in 1344, from A. Ireland's *The Book-Lovers Enchiridion: A Treasury of Thoughts on the Solace and*

*Companionship of Books, Gathered from the Writers of the Greatest Thinkers, from Cicero, Petrarch, and Montaigne to Carlyle, Emerson and Ruskin*, London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co. W. & R. Chambers, 1888.

169. See F. Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius (1575-1608). Sein Leben', *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, J. Strumvol (ed.), vol. 1, Wien 1968, 81-127.

CHAPTER VII  
*Late Medieval  
Ages*



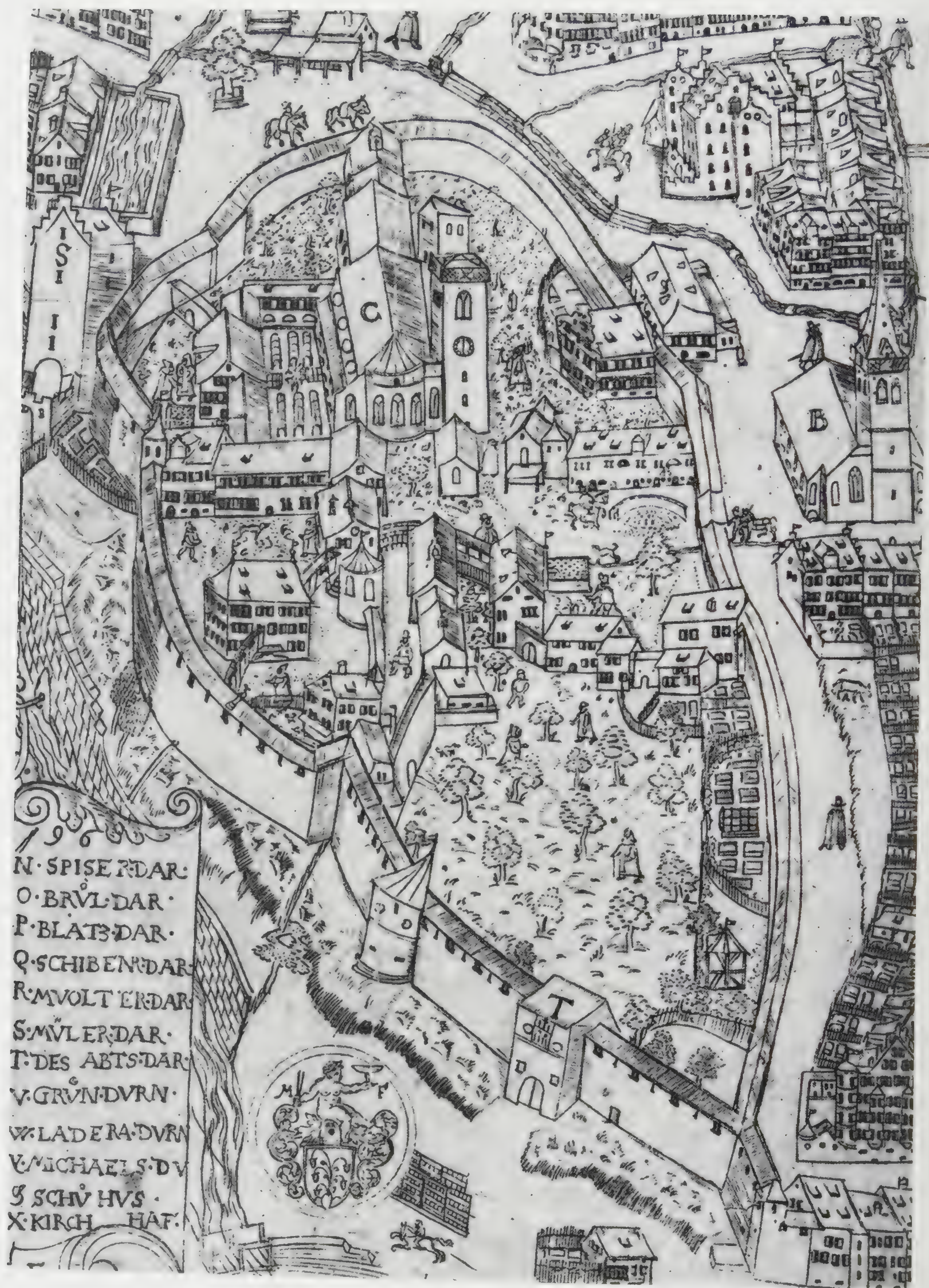




# VIII

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF LIBRARIES







## THE ARCHITECTURE OF LIBRARIES

### *Niches, Chambers, Libraries and Fittings*

**T**he preceding seven chapters have treated the subject of libraries, mainly private and of monasteries but also of schools and universities. We have however so far confined ourselves to the their content in books and not dealt with the spaces where these books were placed and stored.<sup>1</sup> An approach to the spatial side, the architectural aspect of a library, in the Middle Ages had no object, so that we were obliged to view the libraries from another angle. The architectural tradition of both the Eastern Roman and the Western Empires that began in the earliest Hellenistic years and continued in the Imperial years, with the crowning achievement of the great libraries in Rome's Forums such as Trajan's did not extend to the Christian era. In fact not a single library of the Pagans, whether free-standing or incorporated into an existing building was used as such by the Christians.<sup>2</sup> As an example, the Christian community of Sagalassos destroyed the library building that adorned their city – which had been restored by the municipality in the times of the emperor Julian – as well as its interior decoration of fine workmanship and its contents.<sup>3</sup> And Kelso's renowned library remained sealed shut throughout the Byzantine period.<sup>4</sup>

To interpret this stance of the Christians toward the temples of wisdom of the Pagans it will be necessary to turn to a level of philosophy, that is the objection of the Fathers of the Church, in East and West, to the cultivation of the Graeco-Roman literary traditions.<sup>5</sup> That is to say that it was not possible for a building decorated by heathens as the temple of wisdom and of the Muses, of the goddess Athena whose statue (or Apollo's) as a rule had pride of place in them, to be the depository of the knowledge deriving from the Bible, the Patristic Texts, the Lives and works of the Martyrs of the Church. And how, additionally, would it be possible for the writings of the pagans to be cheek by jowl in the same cupboards as the humble texts of the early Christian missionaries, who were martyred for their faith and burnt at the stake by the Pagans. The issue as such was never formulated in

*Roman  
architectural  
tradition*

1. *Panoramic view of the abbey of St. Gallen in its aspect in 1596, an etching by Melchior Frank. St. Gallen, Municipal Archive (Vadiana).*







writing – if ever orally – and we shall have to seek an answer in the light of this: i.e. on the stance of the Church toward the role of books and the image of the space wherein they are housed.

The early years, especially after the institution by Constantine the Great of Christianity as official religion of the Eastern and Western Empires had difficulty in imposing a uniform doctrine of Christian faith. The Christian Credo underwent diverse interpretations before being instituted as a commonly accepted dogma, also confronting an entire world that continued to worship the ancient divinities, preserved local pagan forms of worship, or was indifferent to either of those successive world concepts. The book therefore, the written word, was of capital significance as a point of reference for a correct faith, and no deviation from that path was conceivable. It is not accidental that when heretics were persecuted and condemned their books suffered precisely the same fate, finding their end in the flames.<sup>6</sup>

The cornerstone of the sacred book, the heavenly book, the Word of God was acknowledged to be the Bible, witness to which is its constant reproductions in the monastic centres and ceaseless reading by monks and the clergy in general. The Bible of itself contains everything, provides all the answers to human questioning and is a sure guide to the immortality of the soul.<sup>7</sup>

**Library design up the late years of the Carolingian period.** A technical approach to the premises chosen for the storage of books in the monastic centres and royal courts indicates that these chambers have no architectural substance. Even book-stands, those works of masterly woodworkers' craftsmanship in the public or private mansions of Rome and the provinces<sup>8</sup> did not spark any inspiration and were replaced by elementary receptacles such as coffer or chests, which could moreover in no way be suitable for the preservation in good condition of a manuscript: lack of ventilation, consequent humidity and impractical for the use of books.<sup>9</sup> There are however pictorial depictions proving that the change in the early years of Christianity in the philosophy concerning the spaces where books were kept did not happen overnight. The design of the cupboard depicted in the mosaic of the tomb of the empress Galla Placida at Ravenna,<sup>10</sup> as well as the one that sets the scene in the codex with the prophet Ezra (Cassiodorus?) at work on the codex of the *Amiatinus*,<sup>11</sup> are modelled on the bookcases that once adorned the central section of the Pergamon li-

2. *Illumination depicting the sciences per category, crowned by a personification of Boethius's Philosophy exactly above the depictions of the seven liberal arts. From the edition: Brunetto Latini, Li Livres dou Tresor, 1266. London, British Museum (Add. 30024, fo. 1v).*



brary and later passed into the Roman architectural tradition.<sup>12</sup> The Graeco-Roman tradition is shown in both instances: Galla Placida's tomb keeps the architecture of the imperial epoch with elements of the Byzantine, and the architect's design of the monastery Cassiodorus founded at Vivarium – judging by his educational plans – must have been on the lines of the ancient typology.<sup>13</sup>



3. Detail from the mosaic decorating the mausoleum of Galla Placida in Ravenna showing a cupboard with four codices corresponding to the equivalent Gospels. (Photo: 'Sacred Destinations').

**A library of Christian written works.** The incorporation of decorative elements in the room which was a library of codices of Christian writings mainly, is in evidence in an inscription preserved in the library of a college Pope Agapetus intended to build in 535.<sup>14</sup> He had chosen a building for the purpose on Rome's Caelian Hill, where Pope Gregory the Great later founded a monastery. It appears that Agapetus had foreseen a particular aesthetic aspect and decoration for the library confirmed by the author of the Einsiedlen Codex who visited Rome in the 9th century where he read the following inscription:



SANCTORVM VENERANDA COHORS SEDET ORDINE LONGO  
DIVINAE LEGIS MYSTICA DICTA DOCENS  
HOS INTER RESIDENS AGAPETVS IVRE SACERDOS  
CODICIBVS PVLCHRVM CONDIDIT ARTE LOCVM  
GRATIA PAR CVNCTIS SANCTVS LABOR OMNIBVS VNVS  
DISSONA VERBA QVIDEM SED TAMEN VNA FIDES

*Here sits in long array a reverend troop  
Teaching the mystic truths of law divine:  
Mid these by right takes Agapetus place  
Who built to guard his books this fair abode.  
All toil alike, all equal grace enjoy—  
Their words are different, but their faith the same.*

These lines leave no doubt that the room was decorated with a series of portraits of the Church Fathers, including Agapetus.<sup>15</sup> The pope's plan was however cut short by his sudden death in 535 and was continued after a fashion by Cassiodorus, who was beloved by Agapetus, when it was situated at Vivarium.

It is true that the sacred texts, the Scriptures, the Old and New Testaments, the Martyrology, the works of the Church Fathers, the writings of ascetics and anchorites as well as monastic rules spoke of the conditions of poverty in which all the faithful, monks in particular ought to live in order to identify with the life and sufferings of Christ. In the light of this principle, any construction other than the church where the Lord lives and where he should be praised day and night – insofar as it was feasible for a Christian community – and any other luxury expressed naught but human vanity.

Biblical codices had a wealth of ornamentation corresponding to the brilliance of church buildings showing the disposition of the faithful to praise the Lord in premises recalling the Kingdom of Heaven, and so did every kind of Christian writings, as a rule immortalizing scenes and leading figures of the Bible and the Evangelists with depictions of high artistry. There are also numerous instances where secular personalities occupying the most elevated positions and decisively influenced the fate of their subjects were depicted in parables with symbols of morality and bravery from the Old Testament, such as Charlemagne as David in the Golden Psalter of St. Gallen, where the surround is in fact in a style of monumental Greek architecture.<sup>16</sup>

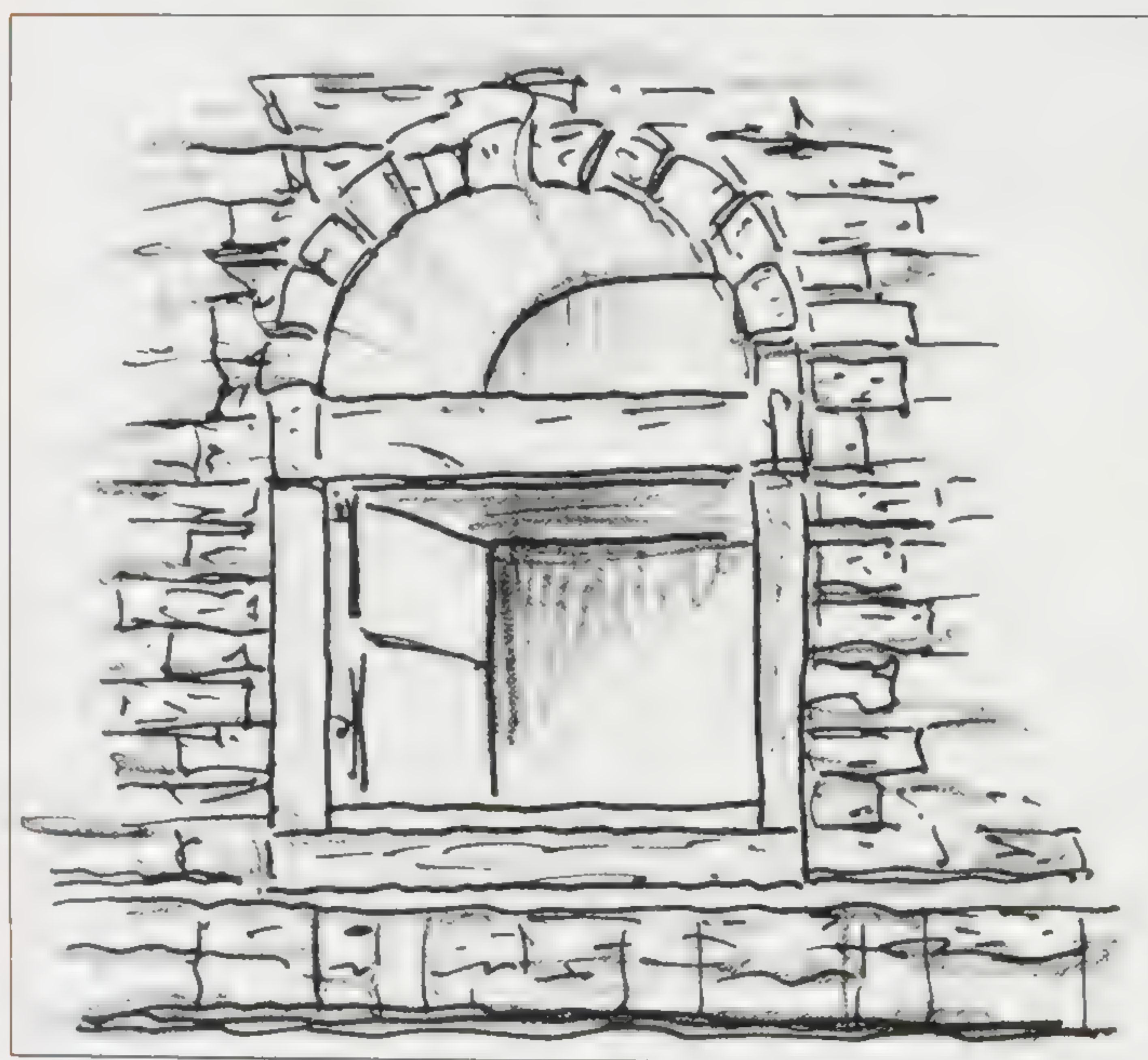
*The point of view  
of the Christians  
as to the decoration  
of a library*



A further factor that did not at the outset favour the setting aside of a special area for a library in monasteries was also the Rule of the Benedictines that refers only to the obligatory reading of sacred texts by monks and the respect they owed to the material substance of books. It is only after the tenth century that the role of librarian is mentioned who, besides having to care for and maintain the books, had to see to it that there was supply of multiple copies for the needs of daily prayer and the services.<sup>17</sup> It is also certain that in many monasteries of renown such as Corbie, Reichenau, Bobbio or Canterbury the activity of codex-writing was not exclusively exercised in premises designed on architectural criteria, that is to say, in scriptoria. Many copies were made in the monks' cells and it has been ascertained that they often passed from hand to hand when they had to be complemented and illuminated for decoration or also to be bound with opulent materials – a specialization found outside the monastery in fact.

The first spaces to be used as libraries of a sort in the abbeys and monasteries were what was called treasuries, to be found also in cathedrals and episcopal churches as well as the chapels of rulers.<sup>18</sup> This was chamber, secured or not, wherein also valuable vessels were kept such as, vestments and every sort of votive offering. In it the Bible, the Gospels and the Psalter were hoarded and any book used in the conduct of services. Church officials, archbishops, bishops, abbots and others had codices of ecclesiastical content at disposal for their personal use and so did the secular nobility, for their private reading and prayer.<sup>19</sup>

Valuable  
manuscripts  
in the treasuries

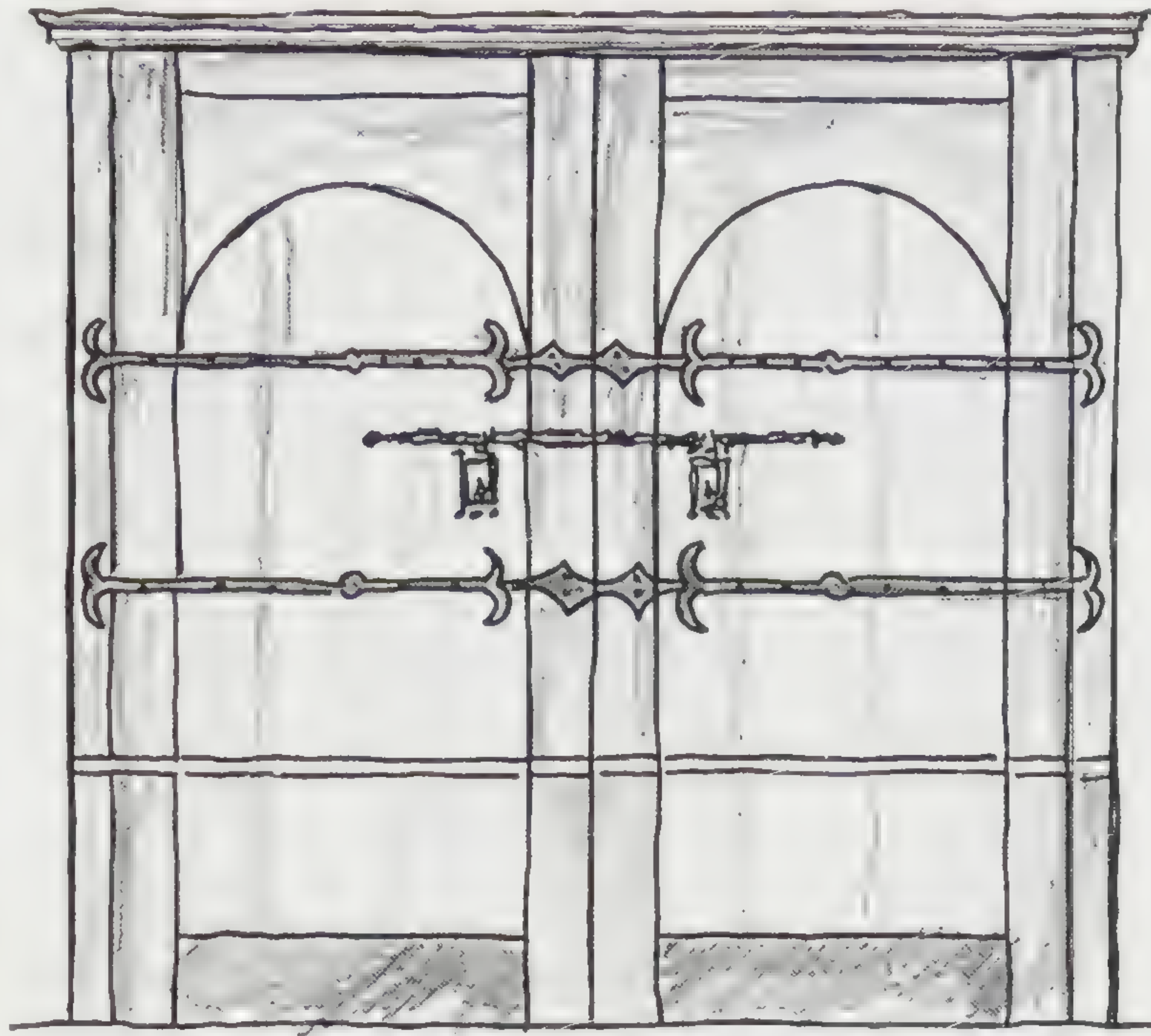


4. Detail of the niche in the cloister of Fossa Nuova. A drawing by the author based on the sketch published in J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, 83 (fig. 19).

**The first monastic 'library'.** Most probably, the first form of institutional library will have been a niche in the outer wall of the monastery, commonly called *armarium commune* or *commune armarium claustrum*.<sup>20</sup> This niche, (communal library) sometimes with a built-in wooden casing to secure it and at times without, was most often installed between the Chapter House and the church door and contained more than one copy of liturgical and other related books for use in the routine of that particular monastic community. These books



were traditionally known as *communes libri*.<sup>21</sup> A 'library' of this sort preserved in excellent condition to this day can be seen in the Cistercian monastery Fossa Nuova in Central Italy, since the niches constructed in the wall facing onto the cloister of the abbey La Garde-Dieu (founded by Obazine in about 1150) were demolished as late as 1984.<sup>22</sup> Niches of diverse dimensions in which to incorporate a library must have been in use much before, that is before the seventh century, but neither archaeological finds nor anything written confirm this and nor has there been scientific research into the subject. On the other hand the use of such bookcases from the twelfth century is seen from finds in many of England's abbeys, at Monk Bretton, Lilleshall Abbey and the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh, so that we can assume that the niche was closed by two door panels, while a horizontal shelf formed two cases.



5. Cupboard in which very probably manuscripts were also kept, in the church of the abbey La Garde-Dieu. Drawing by the author based on a photograph in J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (fig. 27).

**Chests and cupboards as libraries.** In the early Middle Ages, private, secular and monastic libraries were chest and trunks of wood or leather, also used to store a variety of material. The practice is traceable centuries back, as the Greeks – from at least the beginning of the fifth century BC – used *thekes biblion* (cases for books). Examples can be seen in clay vessel depictions of the era, specifically the singer Linos teaching Musaios unfolding a papyrus book, while a chest is shown at the edge of the composition.<sup>23</sup> Such 'cases for books' were in use throughout the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, in the company of every sort of book stand, moveable or fixed, as may be seen in the illumination by Jean le Tavernier from Bruges (*ca.* 1450) depicting the publisher-scribe Jean Miélot at work.<sup>24</sup>

When in due course book collections multiplied and monastic centres organized the areas for copying and the libraries, the necessity for storing books in more permanent installations became imperative. In this way, not that these early

*The tradition  
of the micro  
library*



'bookcases' were done away with, moveable cupboards came into use, not necessarily like the twin-door bookcases of the Graeco-Roman age but of a different sort, on the lines of the design and style of furnishings of their period, called 'armarium' from the use they were put to. Chests, trunks, cases and *armaria* of this type have survived, and in fact in place, as in Hereford Cathedral,<sup>25</sup> the papal library of Avignon,<sup>26</sup> the church of Obazine in Central France,<sup>27</sup> Bayeux Cathedral and elsewhere.<sup>28</sup>

The Bury St. Edmunds archives from 1327 give more information as to the use of these free-standing bookcases, that is of the cupboards, combined with the existence of other book storage such as in chests and trunks:<sup>29</sup> when the town's inhabitants broke in to the abbey, they smashed the trunks (*cistulas, id est caroles*) and cupboards (*armoriola*) and snatched the books together with anything else they contained. It appears however that the abbey was not completely stripped of its store of books, or that those necessary for constant use were swiftly replaced, confirmed by a handwritten note by the librarian Henry de Kirkestede from the fourteenth century on manuscripts of the abbey: *de armario claustris*.<sup>30</sup>

**Monastery libraries.** From the eighth century on many monastic centres ceased to be simple retreats and became educational institutions. Their libraries thus began to turn into instruments of intellectual life and the scattered chests and cupboards did not suffice as storage space for the quantity of manuscripts collected. They were furthermore unsuitable for the gradually imposed rules of classification according to library science, so that almost the entire contents of 'libraries' were housed in special chambers to which not all the members of the community had free access and were purely for storing the books.

From the Othonite period on, however, the increasing numbers of persons opting to ensure their livelihood within the precincts of monasteries, with the ensuing extension of the buildings, incorporating productive factors of agriculture, brought about fresh requirements as to the amount of books necessary for each monk to have.<sup>31</sup> It is probable that from the early twelfth century in Cistercian monasteries special premises were devoted to storing books: the communal library (*bibliotheca communis*), a room near or next to the Chapter House looking onto the cloister (*Clastrum*).<sup>32</sup> The placing of the library was not at all accidental and had to do with the role of the covered walkway of the cloister, as shall be seen below.



**Libraries in the Carolingian period.** Of the monasteries founded in the Carolingian period – or those who benefited in any way from the educational reforms introduced by Charlemagne and his closed circle of advisors such as Alcuin – a number developed into true ‘school’ centres.<sup>33</sup> They had inner schools for the monks and outer for laymen, copying centres with exceptionally high artistic standards, so that under such circumstances splendid libraries were created.<sup>34</sup> Catalogues surviving from the early decades of the ninth century give a picture of the libraries, as we have seen, some of which indeed composed according to entities of their contents: Theology, Grammar, History, Geography, missals, etc.<sup>35</sup> That there were special chambers for storing manuscripts is confirmed by the fact that many libraries operated under the supervision of a book guardian, as in the case of Gerward from Lorsch, who in fact had the office of *palatius bibliothecarius* at the royal court.<sup>36</sup>

It should however be borne in mind that these chambers did not contain all the book material of each monastery.

Accessory storage such as moveable cupboards, trunks, cases and chests were still used – among other things – as ‘libraries’. The basic reason for this dispersal was that the chambers could not be put to any use other than as a store for they had no natural light, no ventilation nor heating and were consequently unsuitable for reading or copying. There were thus minor collections of books in the church, in the abbot’s quarters, the cells and other areas of copying workshops as also in the schools incorporated in the monastery such as the apartments of teachers and intellectuals.



6. The Muses corresponding to the quadrivium: Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy. Illumination of a codex with Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica*, made for Charles le Chauve at Tours' Saint Martin in the ninth century. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek (Ms Class. 5, fo. 9v).





7. The publisher-scribe Jean Miélot, illumination by Jean le Tavernier in the codex *Débat d'honneur*, dating to the second half of the fifteenth century. Brussels, Royal Library (Ms 9278, fo. 10).



A catalogue of Bury St. Edmunds from the days of Abbot Leofstan (1046-1065) sketches the picture of such a multifocal monastery library of before the twelfth century, showing that 10 volumes – 9 liturgical books and a copy of *Vita S. Edmundi* – were kept in the abbey's church, 11 liturgical books were in the hands of seven known members of the community while 30 more codices were in Leofstan's apartments, without their contents being specified.<sup>37</sup> The catalogue of Meaux Abbey made in 1396 records eight volumes on the church's altar, more than 70 in the choir stalls and seven liturgical books in the surgery chapel, not including psalters, missals and diverse works for use by the abbot, the monastery officials and of course the monks.<sup>38</sup>

In 831, Louis le Débonnaire, abbot of St. Riquier, commanded the cataloguing of the library's manuscripts, amounting to 250 volumes which were in fact miscellaneous.<sup>39</sup> In the next century, the tenth, the monastery founded by St. Benedict at Bobbio had a library containing some 700 codices,<sup>40</sup> while there were about 600 in another library of the Benedictines at Lorsch in Germany.<sup>41</sup>

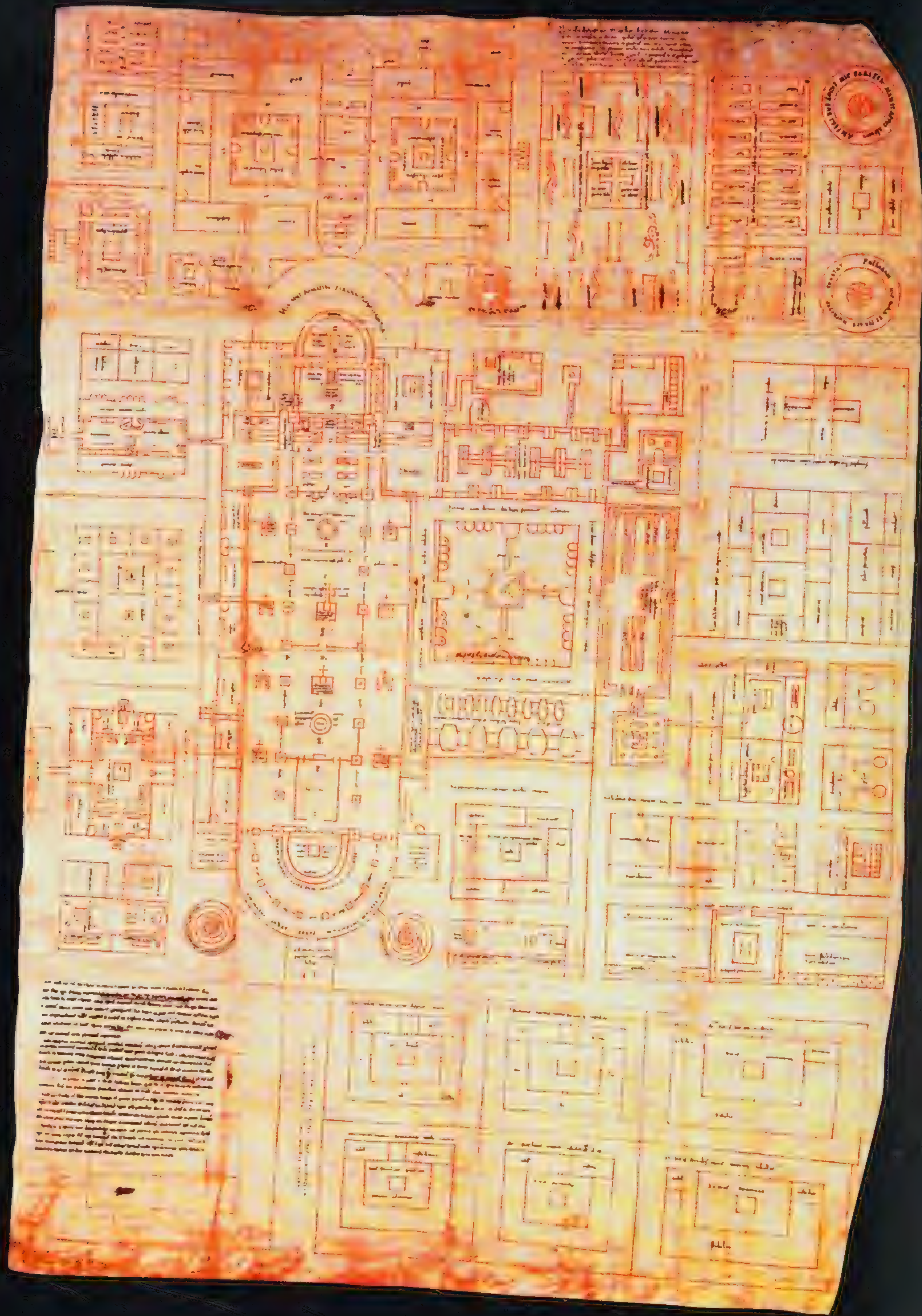
Although no indication or description has survived of the arrangement of these libraries, it must be certain that collections of such size and in fact in constant use must have been stored in some sort of order and classification according to the rules of library science, but the subject can only be approached hypothetically and with scant evidence for it.

**The St. Gallen plan.** The sole valid element there is as to the dispositions of monastic authorities for instituting and ensuring a separate area for copying manuscripts and storing books is the much discussed architectural plan for the ideal arrangement of premises in a monastery complex, drawn up for the monastery of St. Gallen in the time of Abbot Gozbert (816-836).<sup>42</sup> According to this plan, there had to be a two-tiered construction: *infra sedes scribentium*, *supra bibliotheca* (the scriptorium on the lower and the library on the upper) situated next to the church, at the place foreseen for the choir stall.<sup>43</sup>

This plan was drawn by order of Heito, the abbot of Reichenau monastery in about 820. The architectural concept of the ideal monastic community represented in Heito's plan was designed under unknown circumstances and seems to have been of an individual nature as it was not applied in other famous and particularly productive monasteries of the time such as Lorsch, Fulda, or Luxeuil. It is most probable that Gozbert had in mind to build new premises in the monastery of St. Gallen and that Heito volunteered to assist him, sending this plan.

The note accompanying it, addressed by Heito to Gozbert, confirms this: "I sent

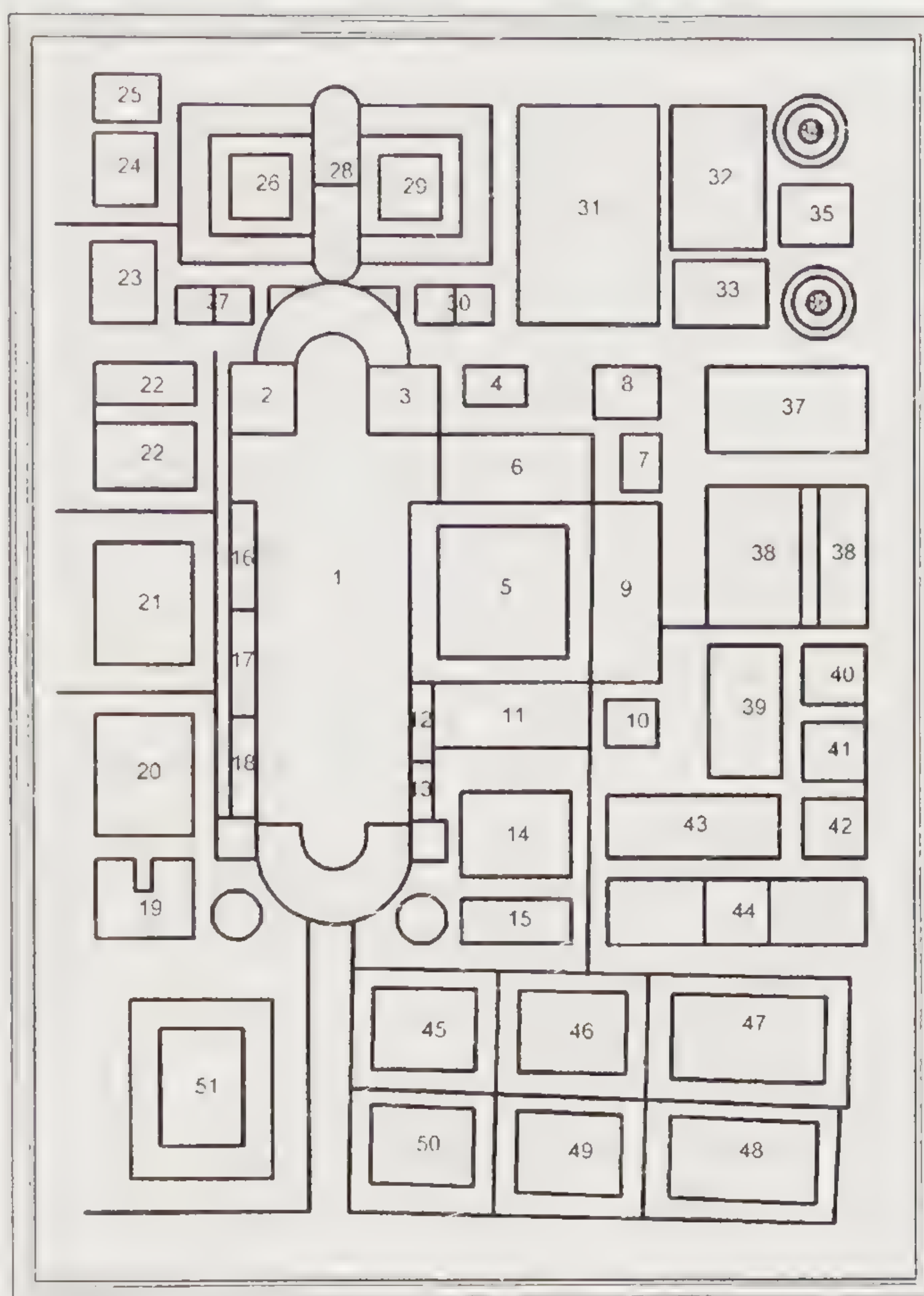






you, dear Gozbert, the plan of disposition of the buildings, with some elements you can work on with your expertise and from which you will recognize my admiration for you at all levels. I hope I would not be thought uncooperative if I did not contribute to your worthy intentions. Do not however think that we elaborated this plan here at Reichenau in the belief that you there at St. Gallen were in need of a *helping hand* but rather – and I am in earnest – I drew this plan for you to study in the light of our common love of God and in view of the amicable brotherhood of our monastic Order. Rejoice in Christ and do not forget us. Amen”. The plan is kept in the library of St. Gallen monastery, together with a list of the buildings.<sup>44</sup>

Various sources from documents relating to every monastic community lead to the conclusion that this plan for St. Gallen in regard to the situation of the library did indeed represent a reality, which is however not confirmed today by any remains as the famous abbey was totally destroyed. Our conviction is reinforced by the chronicle of Anségise of the abbey of Fontenelle, that is of St. Wandrille near Jumièges, mentioning that Anségise had ordered three buildings to be erected (between 822 and 83) facing the cloister.<sup>45</sup> The Chapter House stood in the centre of the cloister in counterpart to the dormitory, while the library was next to the refectory: *In medio autem porticus, quae ante dormitorium sita videtur, domum cartarum constituit; domum vero, qua librorum copia conservaretur, que graece pyrgiscos dicetur, ante refectarium collocavit, cuius tegulae ferries configi fecit.*<sup>46</sup>



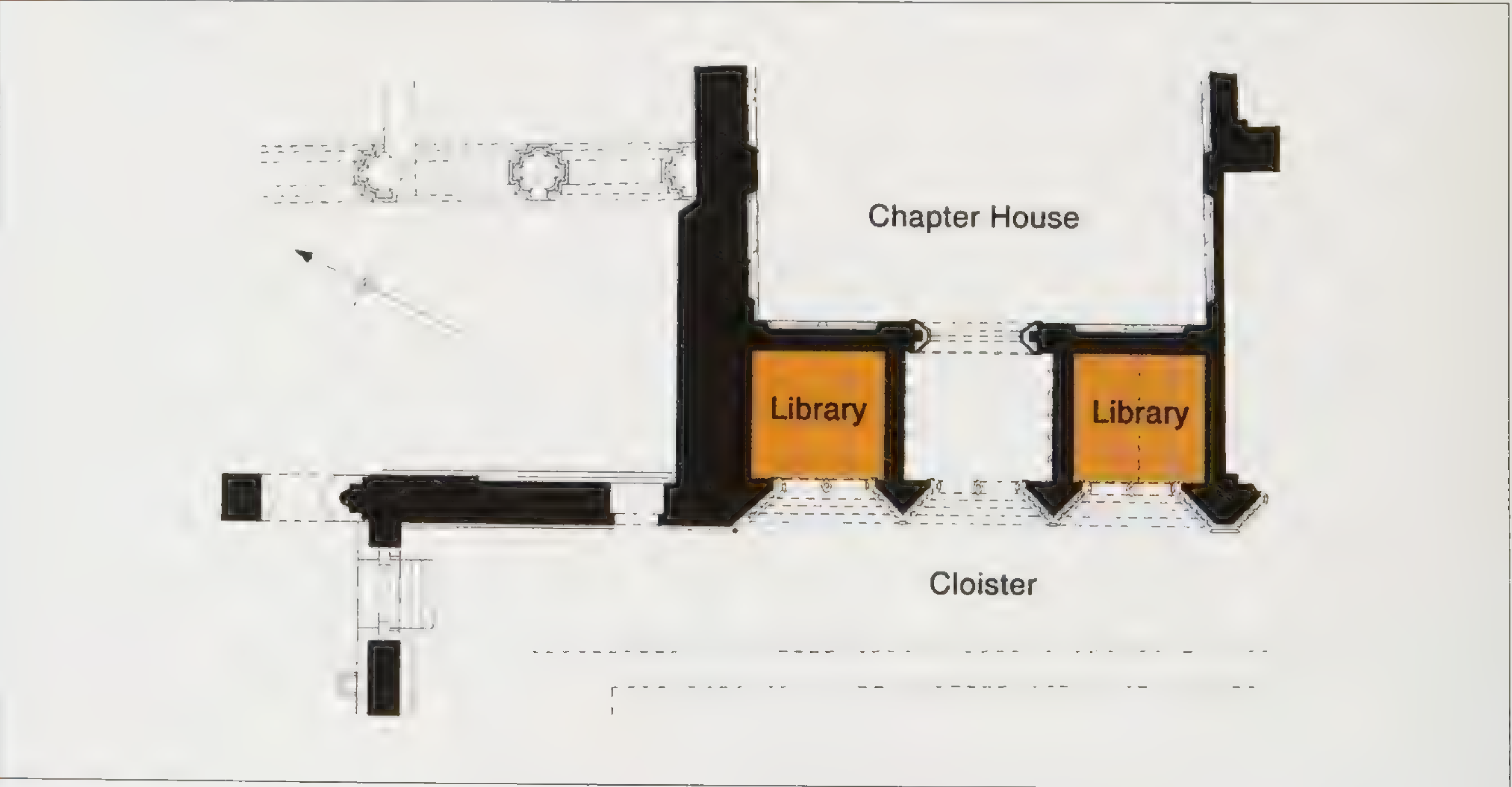
9. Drawing based on the original plan for St. Gallen, the numbering of the areas referring to their use (see note 44).

8. The parchment plan of the abbey of St. Gallen, drawn at the monastery of Reichenau in about 825. Library of St. Gallen (Cod. Sang. 1092).



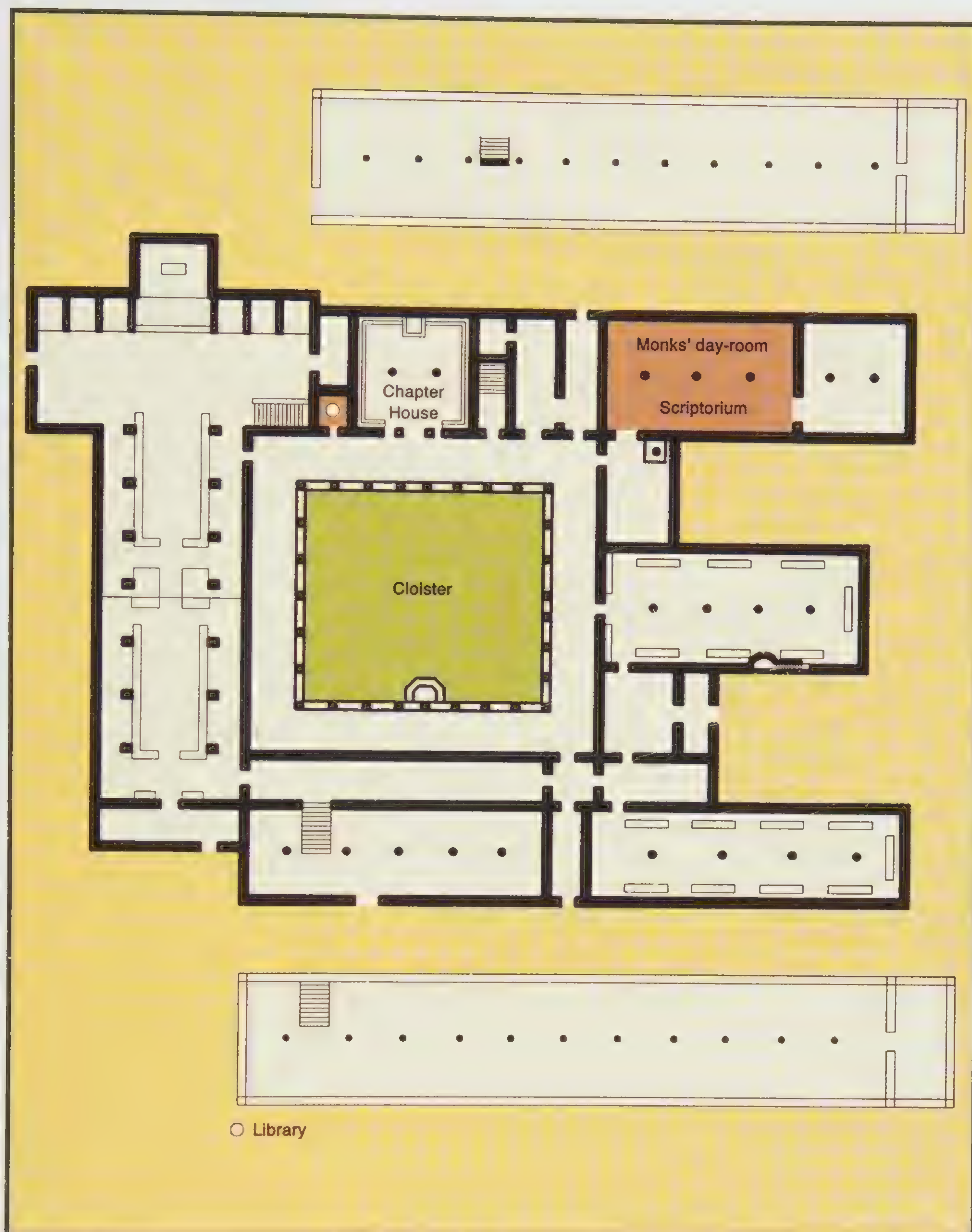
Anségise innovates, calling the library area ‘pyrgiscos’ (small tower) and not *libraria* or *bibliotheca* in Latin. He even made the chamber safe from natural disasters, reinforcing the resistance of the tiled roof by connecting the tiles between them with wire plates.<sup>47</sup> It must be taken as a fact that in one way or another the major monasteries had selected or constructed library chambers, such as those of Mont-Saint-Michel, seemingly modelled on St. Wandrille Abbey’s, which was the installation of a library on the upper level of a tower.<sup>48</sup> There would be more to tell with certainty if the initial tenth century buildings of the great monastic centre of Cluny had been preserved, but the major architectural interventions in the abbey in the eleventh and twelfth centuries radically altered the basic design.<sup>49</sup>

This type of chamber functioning as a library is found in monastic centres of England from the twelfth century such as Rivaulx, Buildwas, Christ Church, Canterbury, Kirkstall and others,<sup>50</sup> with equivalents as to situation and use in the abbeys of Beaulieu, Hayles, Netley, Roche and many more.<sup>51</sup> In the abbey of Meaux, Holderness, founded in the mid-twelfth century, in fact a library catalogue records not only the titles of the books but their method of classification.<sup>52</sup> There were four psalters on the shelf at the top of the front of the library (*in suprema theca supra ostium*) while on the wall opposite the door 37 volumes stood on the top shelf of the bookcase (*suprema theca opposita*). It is deduced from this catalogue that the books were classed in eleven categories, each of which contained about 25 books, thus totalling 316 codices.



10. Ground plan of the left side of the cloister of Furness Abbey showing the two libraries on either side of the entrance to the Chapter House, from J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, 88 (fig. 23).





11. Plan for a Cistercian abbey according to the organogram by Bernard de Clairvaux.



The South View of the Ruins of FOUNTAIN



*This Famous Monastery was founded  
A.D. MCXXXII by Arch Bishop THURSTINUS;  
for the Reception of thirteen Monks, who retired  
from S<sup>t</sup>. Marys at YORK for the exercise of  
greater Austerity; and at first had no other*



Y, in Skeldale; three Miles from *RIPPON*.



*Shelter than an Elm Tree; But were soon  
after incorporated by S<sup>T</sup> BERNARD, into  
the Cistercian Order, and therein acquired  
great Riches; which when they surrendered  
to K Hen. VIII were valued at 2072 Pounds p<sup>a</sup> Annum.*



**The role of the cloister.** The library's place – adjacent to the Chapter House and not far from the Church – accessible only from the cloister, related to the role of this disposition of the constructions, especially the library, in the daily life of a monk. While the church is the place *par excellence* to praise the Lord, the cloister is 'for meditation and silence'. The only 'voice' heard in this walk was the swish of the monks' habits on the paving. This was where a monk meditated, prayed mutely, read and studied the holy texts with the book in his hand. In the garden enclosed within the cloister, planted and cared for by the brothers in their free time, the water of purification flowed, and this interior and protected space was the whole world of a monk: his Paradise.<sup>53</sup>



13. View of the magnificent colonnaded cloister of Moissac Abbey by Toulouse, dating to the seventh century, whose days of glory were in the mid-eleventh century.



12. South view of the ruins of Fountains Abbey. Engraving signed by S. Buck Delin et Sculp.



**The influence of the Rule of Bernard de Clairvaux on the monastery library.** The architectural design of the monasteries of the Cistercian Order is owed to Bernard de Clairvaux. The first monumental group of building inaugurated by de Clairvaux dates to 1135, which is when he founded the great church and monastic centre of Clairvaux II.<sup>54</sup> Whereas there is no written reference to a constructional organogram directly connected to Bernard de Clairvaux, various positions and views of his functioned as ‘forbidden fruit’ of architectural proposals for the formation of the architectural model for the monasteries of the Cistercians.<sup>55</sup> This design is evident in many monasteries of the Order, such as Fontenay in Burgundy,<sup>56</sup> Poblet in Catalonia,<sup>57</sup> Maulbronn<sup>58</sup> in Germany and Fountains in England.<sup>59</sup>

The priority for Bernard de Clairvaux and the Cistercians in the architectural plan for a monastic community – evidenced by the some 750 abbeys of the Order – was to provide an environment for the monks conducive to the monastic life. In this light the concept had to translate and set the Rule of Saint Benedict on a basis of daily life. In regard to our present subject which is the site for the storage of books, de Clairvaux bore in mind that monks should have access to books contributing to their active participation in the Mass, and he therefore determined the following in his *Capitula* of 1192:

*The indispensable  
books for Mass*

CX. “These book were to be at the disposal of all.

These same texts were to be found everywhere: the Book for Holy Mass, the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, the Prayer Book, the Antiphonary, the Psalter..., the Rule and the Calendar.<sup>60</sup>

C.XI. “Every new abbot, when undertaking the direction of the monastery has to have his books with him such as the psalter, a collection of prayers and hymns, an antiphonary, a Rule ...”

The liturgical books represented the indispensable instruments for the coenobitic life. The precentor saw to it that copies were provided, reproduced in the monastery’s scriptorium, as well as that they were at disposal in a cupboard. Monks prayed and sang hymns for many hours a day, as is said of Stephen Harding: that he extolled God for the entire duration of his pilgrimage from Scotland to Rome.<sup>61</sup> This hymning, in *recto tono*, demanded great musical skills and was based on the Gregorian scale introduced for the singing of hymns in the days of Pope Gregory the Great in about the year 600. Monks lived to the rhythms of this doxology, suffusing even their hours of rest.<sup>62</sup>







**The Church Fathers' libraries.** Were particularly well stocked, as was seen in detail in previous chapters, and inspired artwork from the pre-Carolingian era up to the Renaissance, not only in manuscripts but in printed material as well. I refer to SS Augustine;<sup>63</sup> Jerome;<sup>64</sup> Cyprian;<sup>65</sup> Athanasius the Great<sup>66</sup> and Gregory the Great,<sup>67</sup> who were depicted in their study, at work writing, or meditating. Their surroundings, however, in regard to the library furnishings and organization of the room as well as its fittings, by artistic licence had no relation to the reality and does not elucidate our queries.

More than any other, Jerome's study was an endless source of artistic inspiration for such as Botticelli;<sup>68</sup> Dürer;<sup>69</sup> Antonello da Messina;<sup>70</sup> Vittore Carpaccio<sup>71</sup> and of course Domenico Ghirlandaio.<sup>72</sup> The depiction by the hand of Antonio Fabriano<sup>73</sup> is perhaps closer to the true picture of the workplace. The setting however of these representations is imaginary, and their moveable and built-in fittings is based on the arrangement of such rooms in the period of the early Renaissance.

The entire installation and decoration of the studies of the Church Fathers focuses on the chief piece of furniture, desk or bookstand, used for their writing work, as in the depictions of Saints Augustine and Jerome by Ghirlandaio and Botticelli respectively. Carpaccio uses the same motif, designing a work table that has no relation to any equivalent of the period. Jerome's desk in Dürer's engraving is nothing but a refined monastic drawing board. The remainder of the furnishings of the Church Fathers' studies is confined to wooden wall constructions, niches fitted the length of the side walls stacked with manuscripts, scrolls for reading and study, and spectacles. Ceilings are as a rule have well made wooden casings, while the lion next to St. Jerome is nearly always there!<sup>74</sup>

Another pictorial approach of particular interest, especially if it is connected to the tradition of hagiography is an illumination showing an ecclesiastical author giving dictation of his works to his students and scribes. Many of these exquisite depictions are not only interesting for their composition and scenic contrivance but in my opinion relate to an unremarked aspect. In the West this tradition appears to have started out with Gregory the Great, who is the first to be shown in an illumination, usually dictating his words to scribes, and in fact in a stance that over the centuries became a stereotype adopted by all illuminators irrespective of the influence of the local artistic schools, both in Continental Europe and the British Isles. It is noteworthy that neither St. Augustine nor Jerome, Cyprian or any other

*Imaginary  
representations  
of study rooms*

14. Stephen Harding, right, and the abbot of St. Vaast offering the Virgin Mary a maquette of the monastery. Illumination in a manuscript with commentary by Jerome. Dijon, Municipal Library (Ms 139, fo. 104).





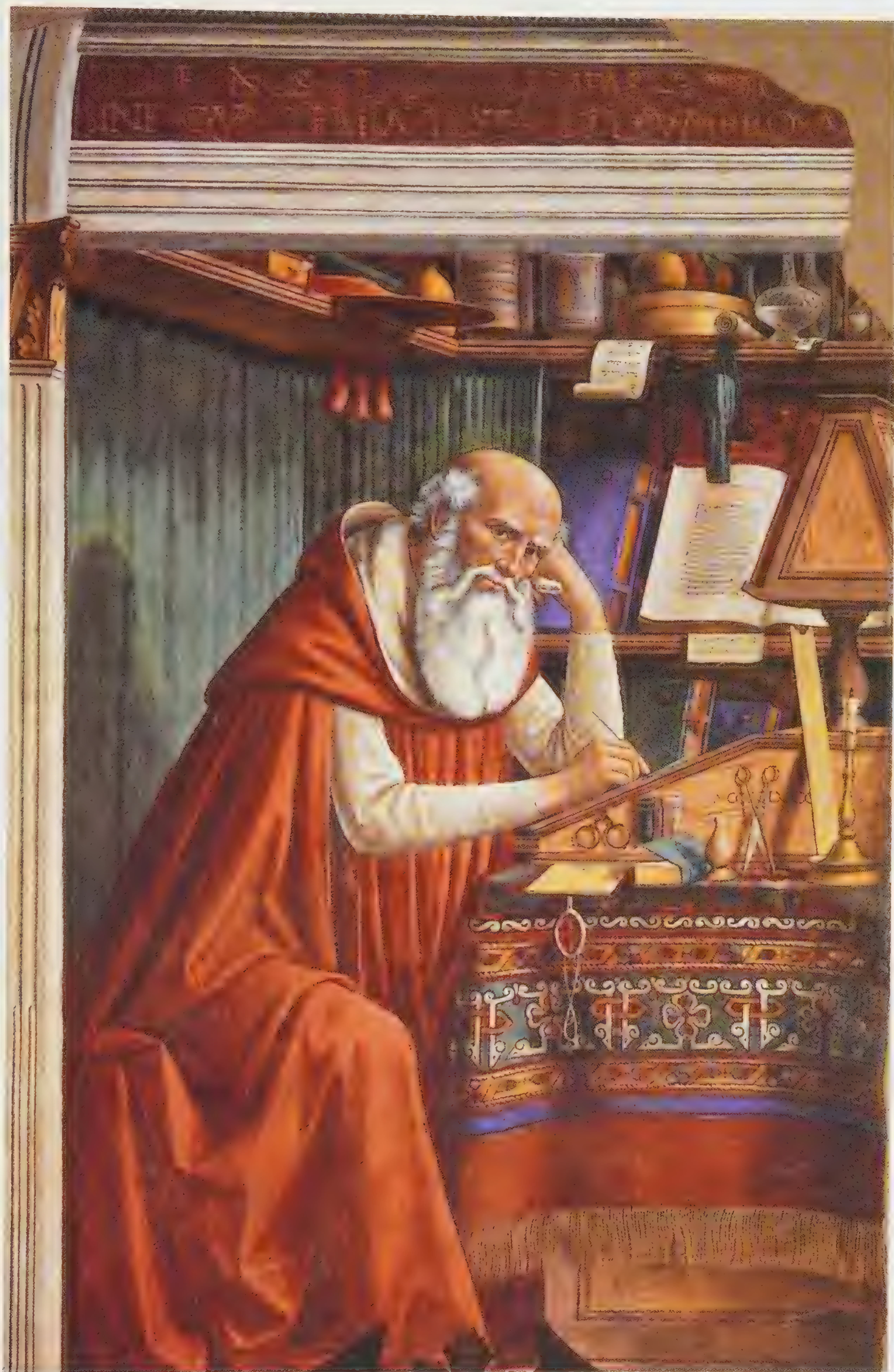
15. Saint Augustine writing in his study, surrounded by manuscripts. Fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli, fifteenth century. San Gimignano, church of St. Augustine.



16. St. Jerome in his library, painting by Tommaso da Modena. Treviso, church of St. Nicholas.

17. St. Jerome in meditative pose in his study, amid manuscripts and other objects of use to scribes. A small tablet on the edge of the shelf has the words in Greek on it: ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΜΕ ... (Have mercy on me). A fresco painted in 1480 by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Florence's All Saints church.







Father of the Church were ever depicted in this stance. This pictorial tradition, initially symbolic and later as stereotype, was instituted to illustrate the financial sponsorship of letters by kings and rulers: the author, scribe, translator or calligrapher, frequently on his knees, presenting his book to the ruler. Such an instance is Bebo of the abbey of Seeon, offering a codex with Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* to the emperor Henry II, or Jean de Vaudetar showing the king of France Charles V a copy of the *Bible Historiale* in 1372.<sup>75</sup> This pose, standing to dictate sacred texts, is in Christian hagiography indissolubly tied to the process of transference to book form of the visionary wording of the Revelation by St. John the Divine; St. John dictating his prophecies to his student Prochorus.<sup>76</sup> In the pictorial tradition of the Eastern Church this representation ever since became a stereotype. In the case however of Gregory the Great, the depiction of the dictating pose is based on Peter the Deacon's describing the procedure of the Divine Revelation on the pope's thinking.<sup>77</sup>

**The university libraries.** The best evidence for the libraries constituted in the college and university institutions from the thirteenth century in Europe and the British Isles is found in the British colleges, in regard to their architecture and preservation of their installations throughout the centuries. The oldest document, however, referring to the organization of a library in a university centre, with library-science specifications, comes from the Sorbonne, in whose archives there is mention of the *communis libraria* at the end of the thirteenth century, as seen above,<sup>78</sup> while from the mid-fourteenth century the *magna libraria* and *parva libraria*<sup>79</sup> are mentioned. An almost corresponding division has also been noted in the chronicle of the papal library at Avignon.<sup>80</sup>

**College rules.** The 1292 rules for Oxford university refer to setting aside a special chamber for the storage of reference books<sup>81</sup> and ever since the teaching centres of Oxford and Cambridge – earlier or later – instituted and secured their libraries as independent areas. The chronicle of Oxford's library is marked by the donation of Thomas de Cobham (1320) for the construction of a Convocation House next to the church of St. Mary on whose upper level a library was foreseen.<sup>82</sup> The whole scheme of this donation may have been delayed for various reasons for about ninety years, at Oxford's Merton College, however, there was a *libraria* already in 1338, a chamber set apart, with the books in chains.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, the rules for Cambridge's Trinity Hall, dating to 1350, foresees a space for a library where the books of the professors of canon and ecclesiastical law had to be chained, while textbooks stored



in the library had to be available to students.<sup>84</sup> Another set of college rules in about 1365, with reference to Christ Church Cathedral Priory's university centre explicitly specified that although books in the *camera* were to be 'loose', they had to be studied *in situ*.<sup>85</sup> Other Oxford libraries were regarded in the same way, such as Exeter where the chapel of its founder had been converted into a library in 1375, and Queens' College, Cambridge, where a *libraria* was under construction in the 1370s.<sup>86</sup>

**The architecture of the library chamber.** College and university libraries were organized differently from those of monasteries, since their chambers began to be used not merely for storage but to serve the reading needs of students *ad hoc*. They were the sources of the necessary material for both students and teachers, and where the codices were to be found to be borrowed or copied. In this way, under supervision of a librarian, the members of the university community spent a lot of time, studying or copying the original texts.

The new role of the libraries of schools of higher education also brought about a new architectural approach as well as a discipline dictated by the inner regulations of each school. Readers knew exactly where the codex they sought was placed.<sup>87</sup> Bookcases were put up symmetrically, as were the desks and seats connected to them. Two-sided bookcases-desks-stands were placed perpendicularly to walls, with glass windows to their right and left to admit light to the room.<sup>88</sup> The remains of buildings and descriptions do not give any indication of how these chambers operated in the hours of dark after sunset, that is about artificial lighting.<sup>89</sup>

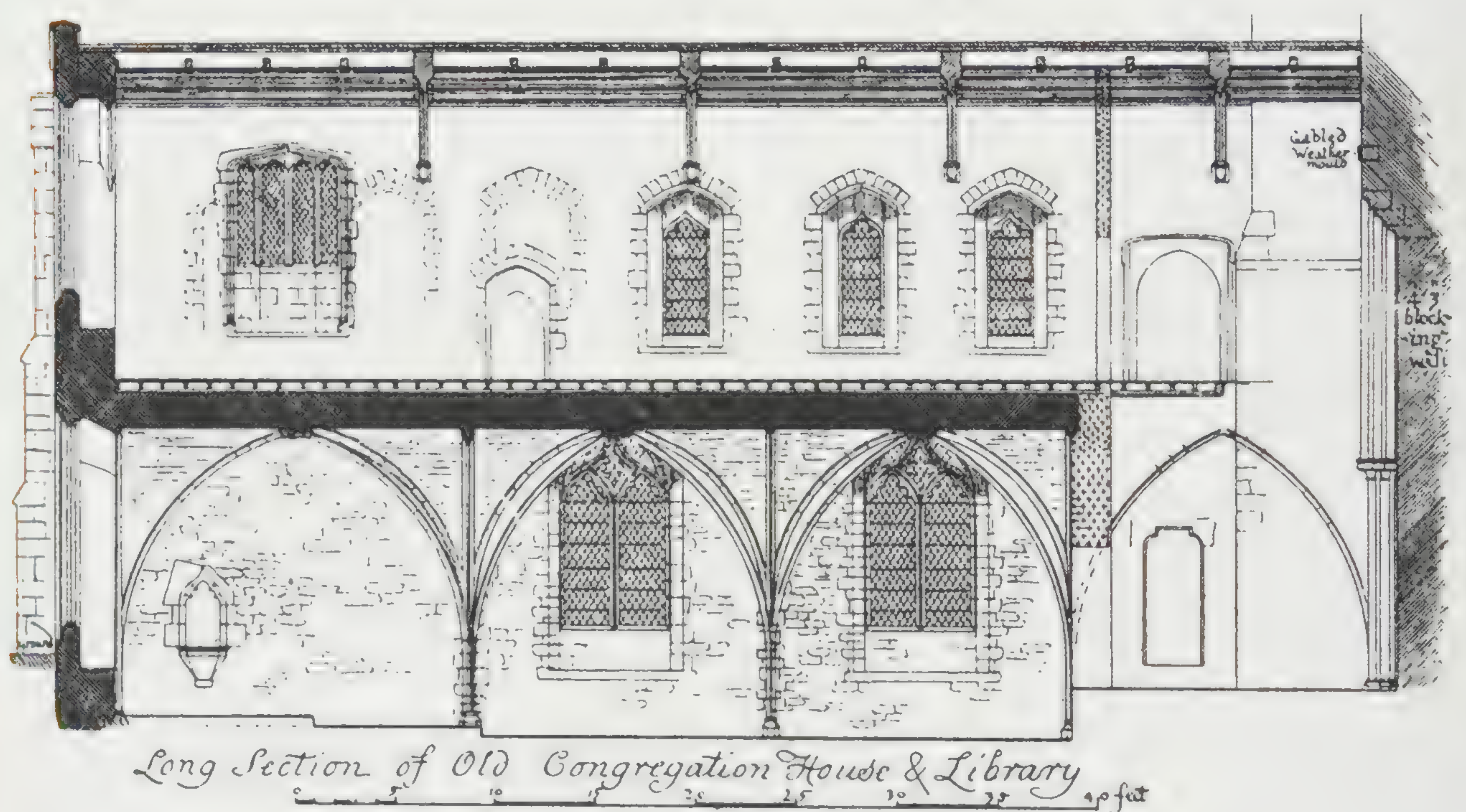
The first college library – as far as we know – organized along the lines of the specifications we have outlined is that of the Sorbonne from 1289.<sup>90</sup> In England, Merton College's library is the opening chapter for a corresponding architecture of a university library. Construction of Merton's library began in 1371 and was completed in 1379, its architectural layout adopted also by Oxford's New College in 1379 when for the first time the plan of the library was included in the full set of architectural plans of college buildings.<sup>91</sup> This form of stereotype university-level library was adopted all over England, as evidenced by Durham College, Oxford; King's Hall, Clare Hall and Queens', Cambridge and many more.<sup>92</sup> The same plan in fact, combined with the equivalent fittings also prevailed in educational centres of higher education in Continental Europe.<sup>93</sup>

In reference to the latter, we have scant data as to the college libraries and libraries of schools of higher education, derived solely from college rules as applied in Paris as well as in Navarra, Autun and St. Victor, the mother-house of the Au-

*New architectural  
features  
in libraries*



gustines. All information and descriptions however derive from documents dating to the period of the Renaissance, which is to say from the mid-fifteenth century onward. It is known from a description of later date of the Sorbonne's library by Claude Héméré (1638-1643) that "this library was lit by 19 windows aligned the length of the side walls, letting in abundant light, and the chamber was furnished with 28 desks, numbered alphabetically, upon which a considerable number of books was placed. The planning and situating of the desks and seats enables the readers to move about and study with ease. The regulations also determined – according to the prevailing custom – that all activity in the room had to be conducted in 'absolute silence' "94



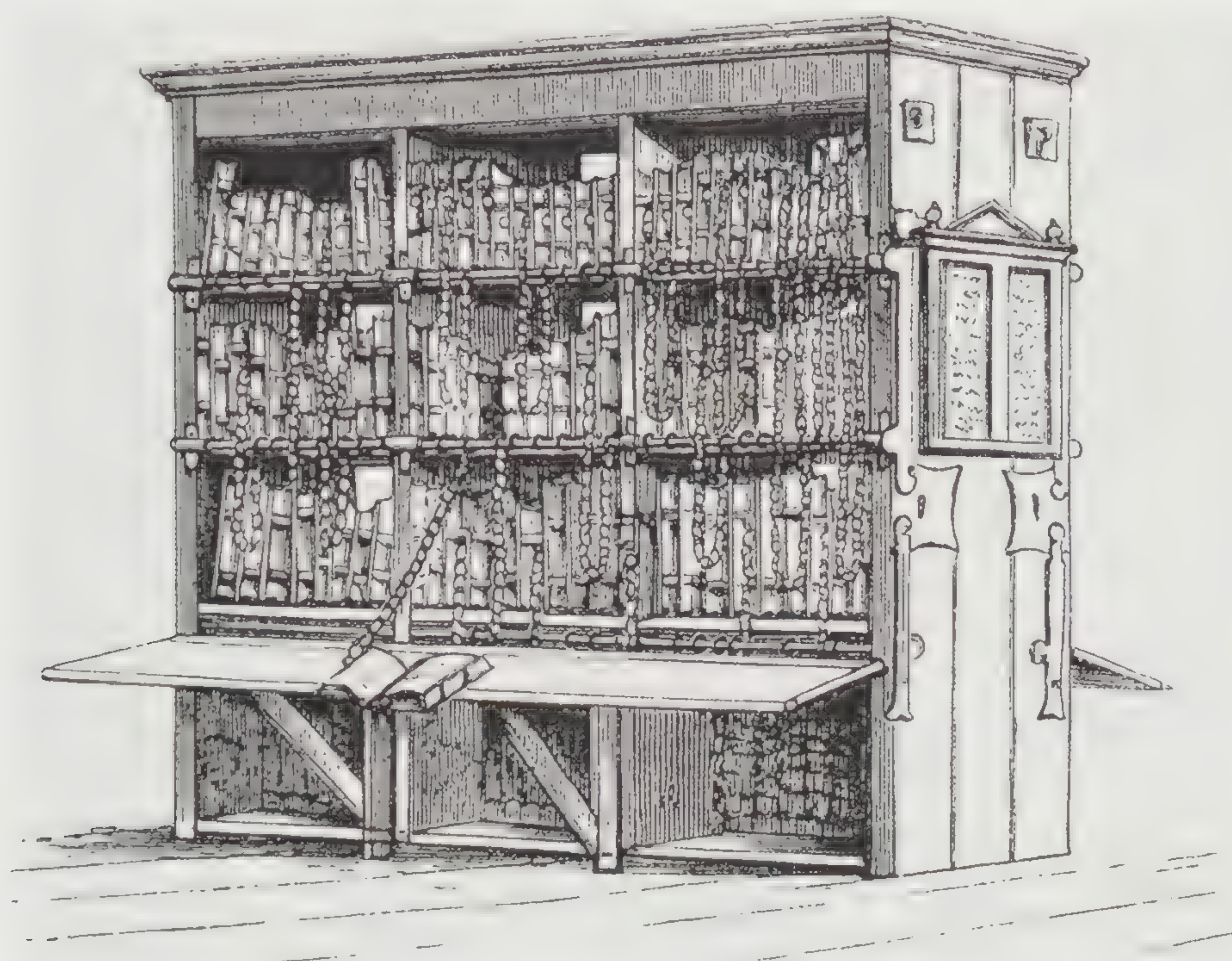
18. Elevation of the length of the Convocation House and Library built with Thomas de Cobham's donation, annexed to the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford. Plan by the architect T.G. Jackson.

**The fittings of the libraries.** The basic fittings of the college and university libraries, as well as of certain institutions of the Church operating as educational centres were the desks-bookcases-bookstands.<sup>95</sup> The primary form of this construction consisted of a lectern, exactly the same as what was used in churches for mass or such as appears in an illumination on a manuscript with the French translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, with the difference that this one was elongated and double-sided:<sup>96</sup> i.e. the base ended in a pyramid exactly like the bookstands surviving in the church of Zutphen (see illustration 18).<sup>97</sup> Subsequent-



ly, as manuscripts multiplied, in almost every organized library another sort of bookcase was devised, double-faced again, at which an extension at work-table height served for reading and studying manuscripts. Seats were added to these constructions either free-standing or not. Bookcase-desks were incorporated in the rules of library science: tablets were fixed to their sides, in alphabetical and thematic order, with the authors' names, and the manuscripts were numbered according to their classification.<sup>98</sup>

The habitual practice once and currently prevailing in libraries, that is the misappropriation or indefinite borrowing of valuable material or without regard to the consideration due to the order of library science led the ecclesiastical authorities to



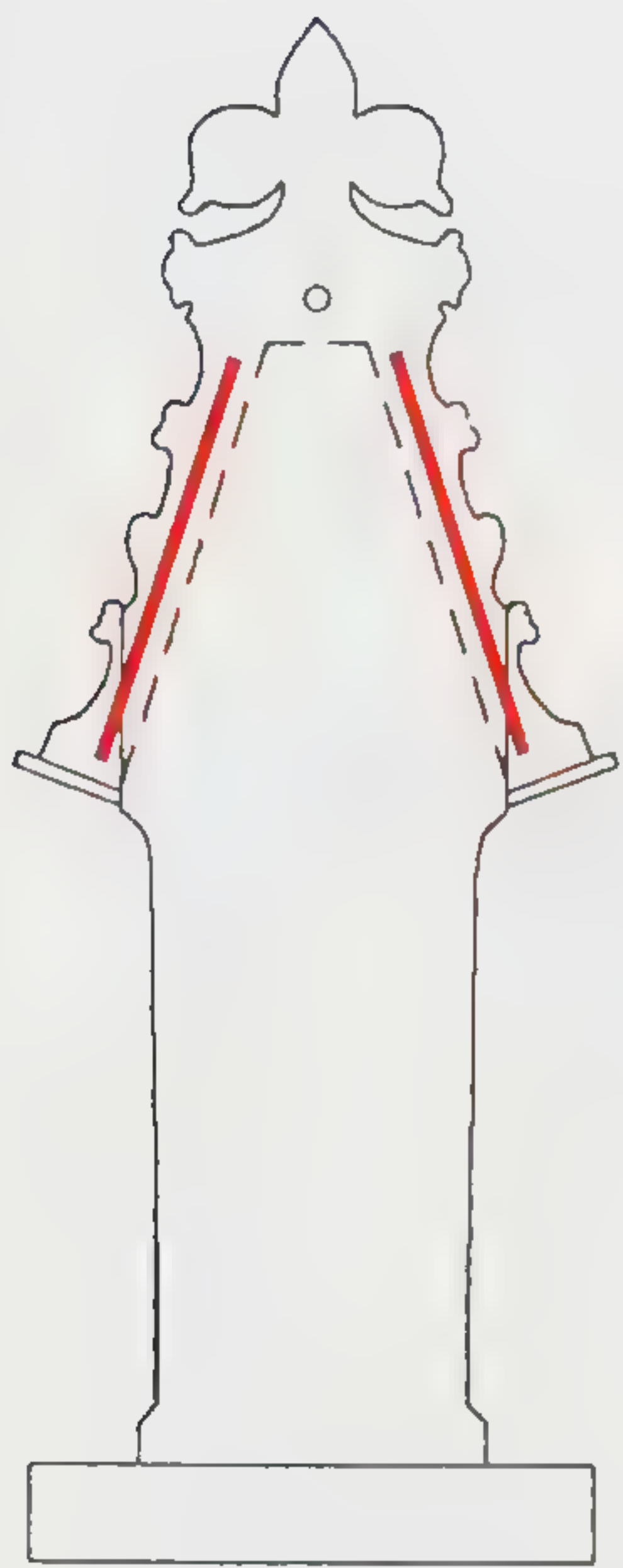
19. Drawing in perspective of a bookcase at Hereford Cathedral, from a sketch of 1876. Published in J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, 175 (fig. 72).

devise a way of avoiding these irregularities.<sup>99</sup> What was chosen and became prevalent was to 'imprison' the books: each one was fitted with a chain. The method consisted in fabricating linked metal rings incorporated in the binding, through which chains were then threaded ending in metal rods anchored along

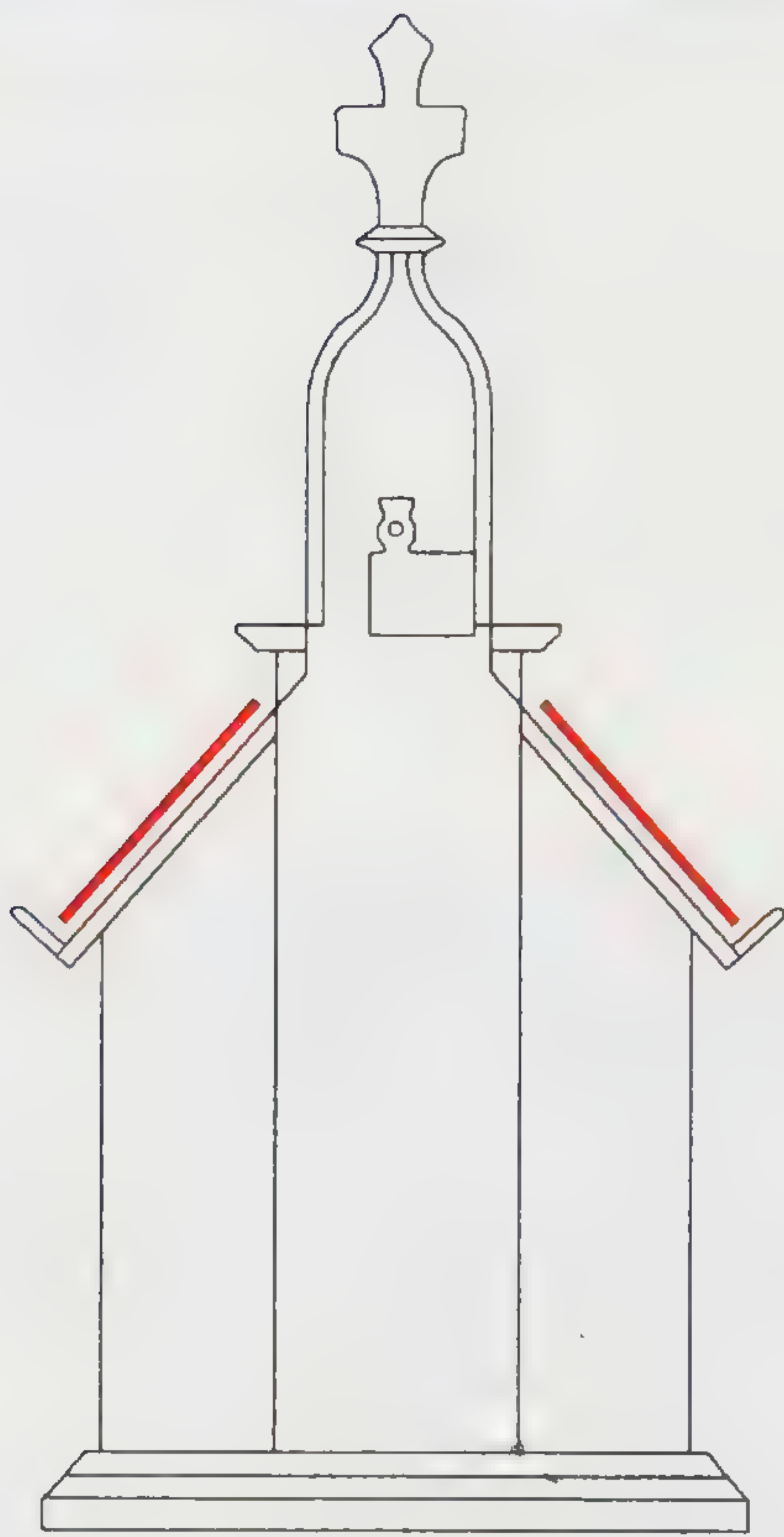
*The shackles  
of the manuscripts*

20. Side views of desks-bookstands-bookcases of Zutphen's library (A); Queens' College, Cambridge (B); Lincoln Cathedral's library (C); Oxford's Corpus Christi (D); the west library, Merton College, Oxford (E); the Novello Malatesta library at Cesena (F) and the Medici's Laurentian Library in Florence (G).

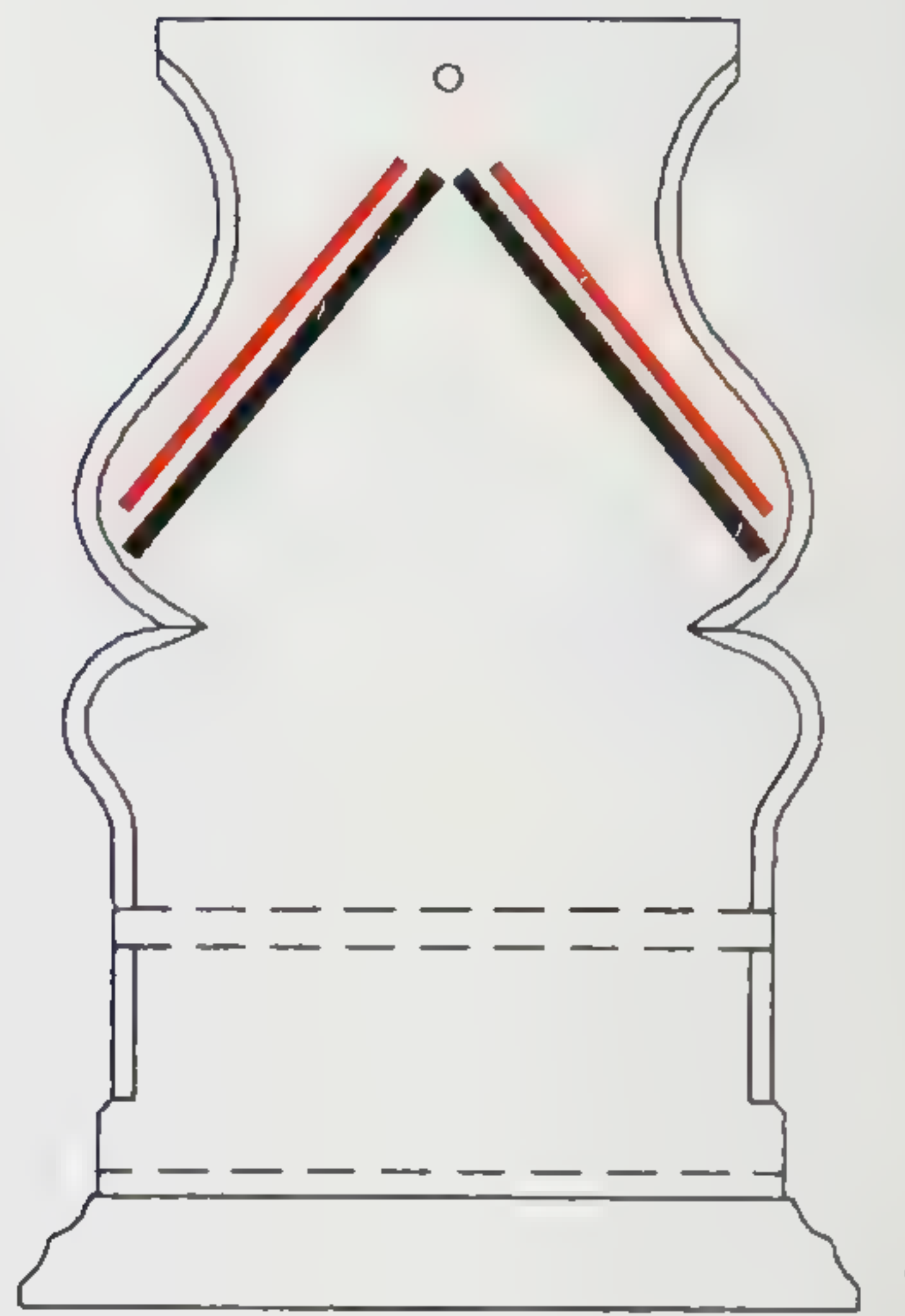




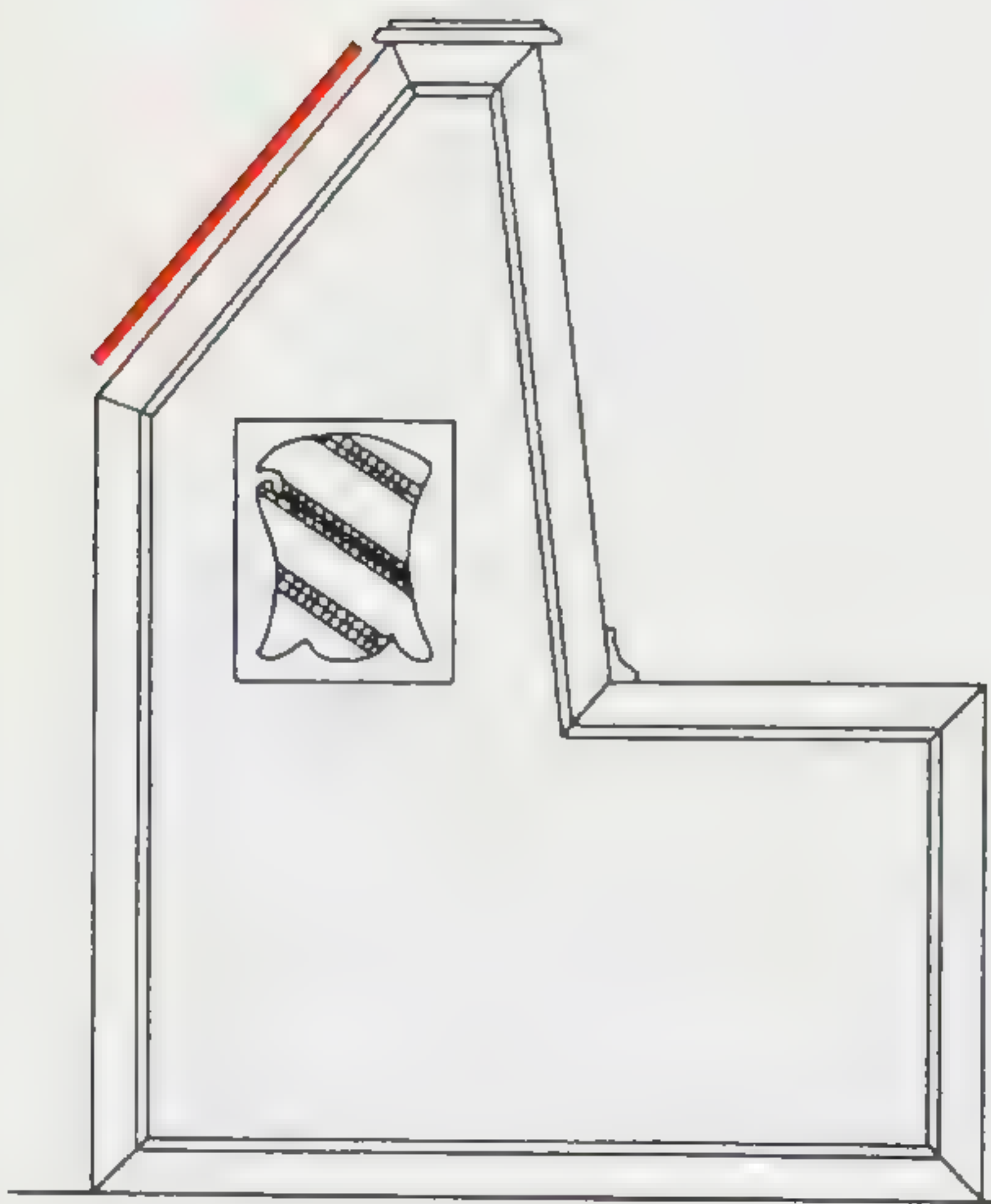
A



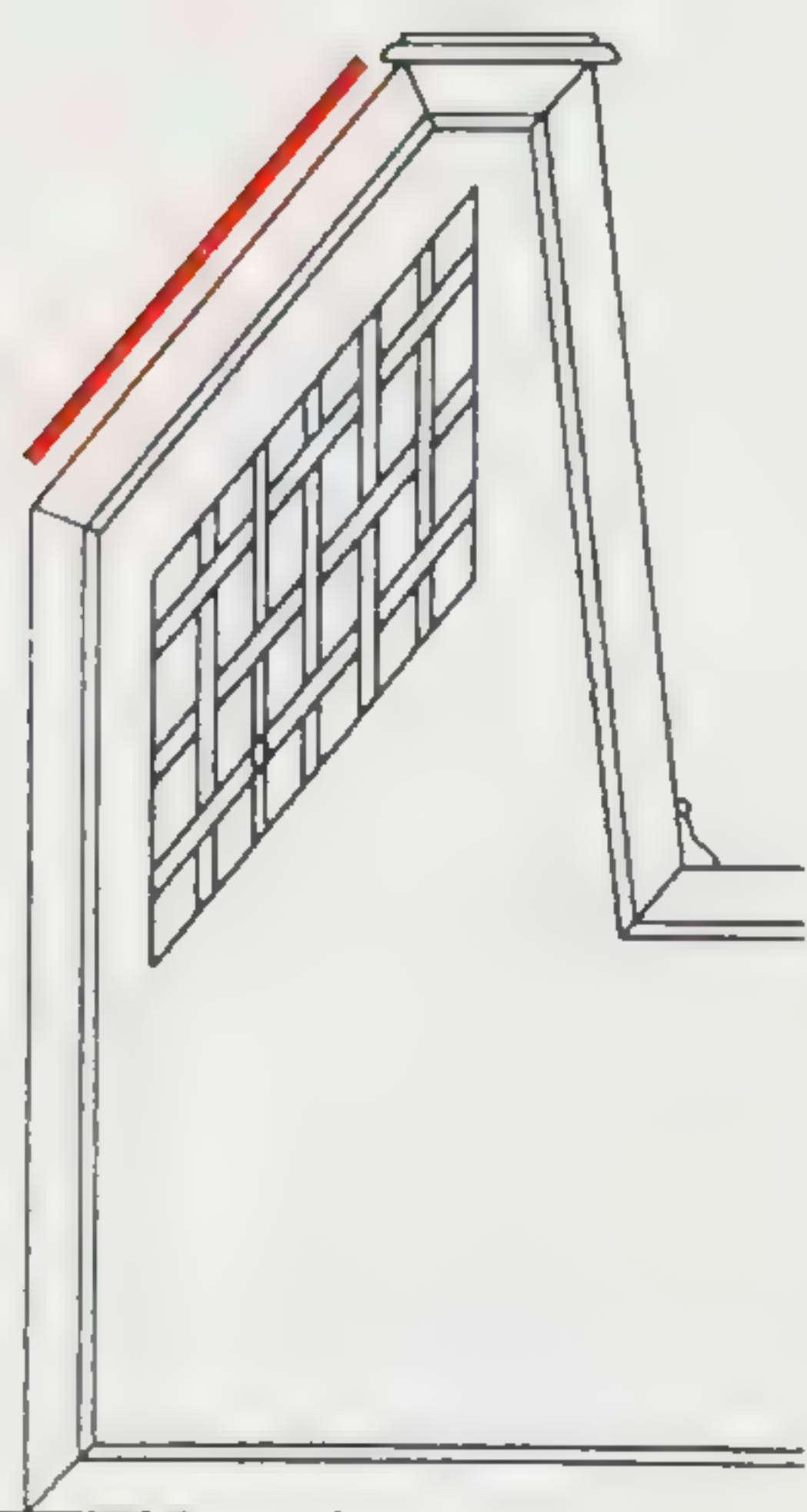
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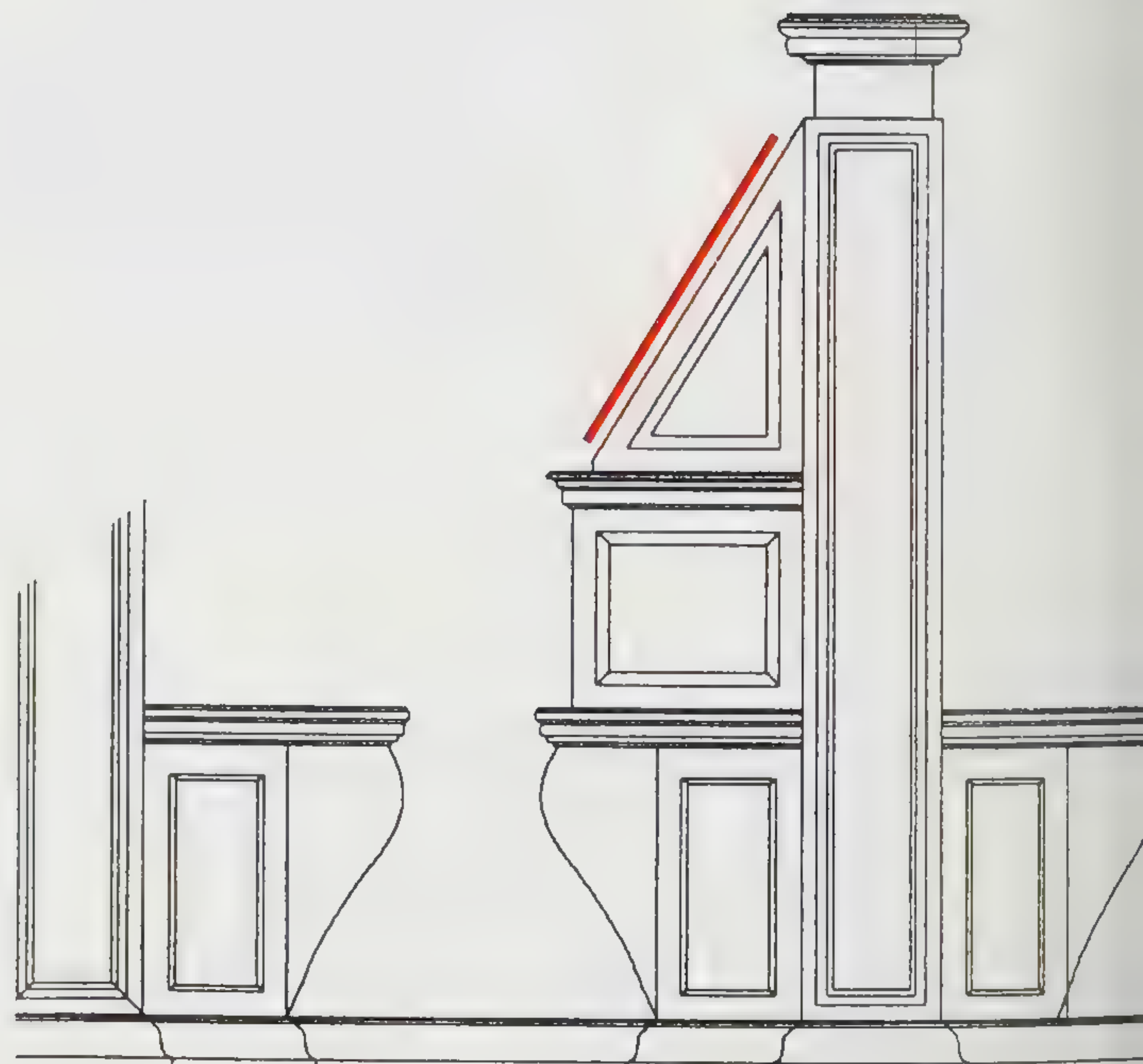
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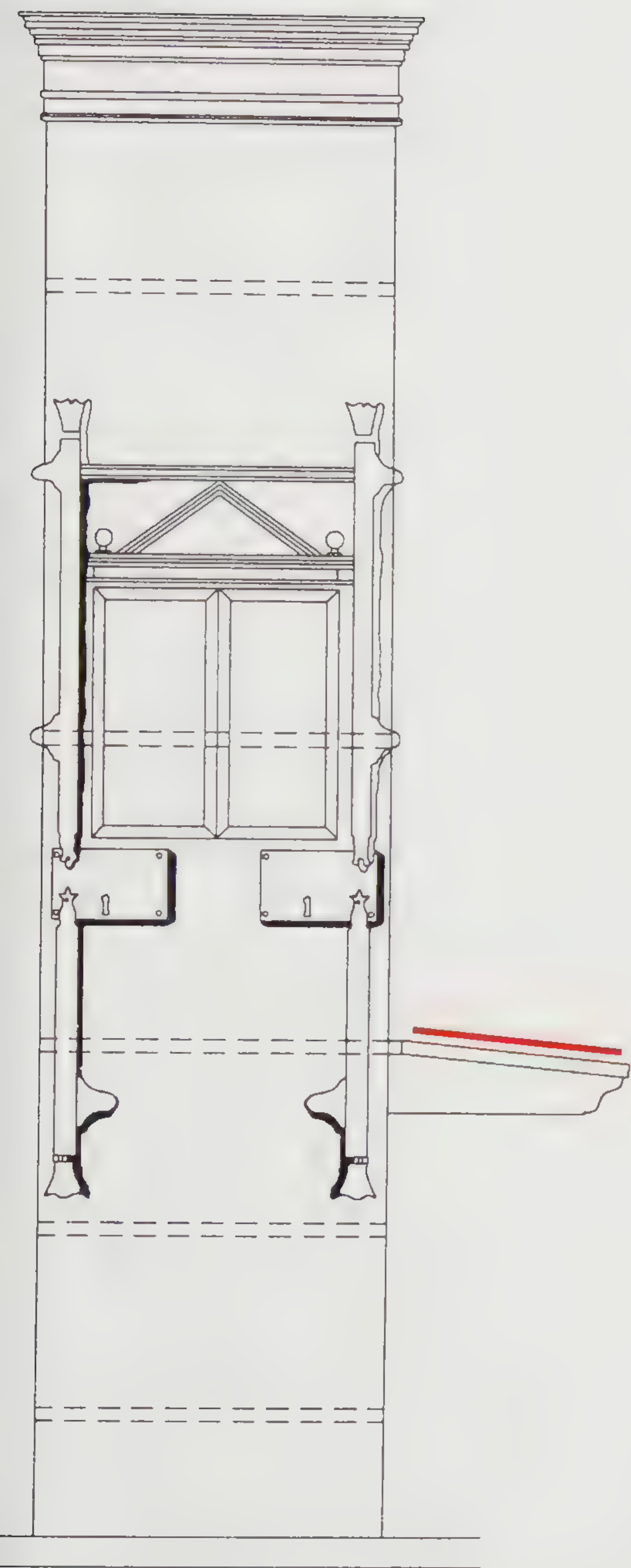
F



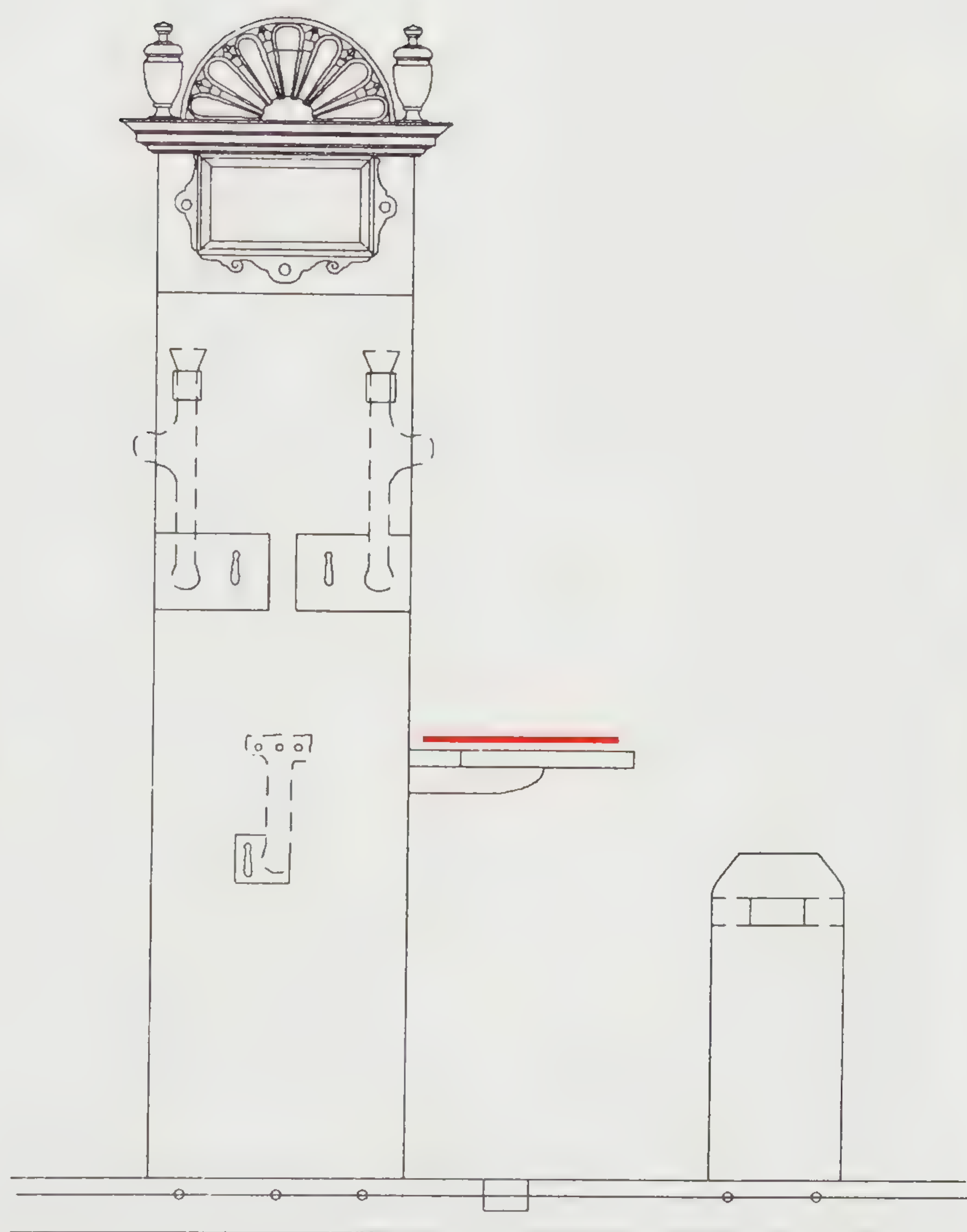
G







D



E





21. View of the interior of the Library at Zutphen with the typical bookstands, from the W. Löschburg edition: *Historic Libraries of Europe*, Edition Leipzig, 1974, 34.



the length of the shelves of the bookcases. The only movement of the book was thus restricted to the length of the chain.<sup>100</sup>

This method of fitting libraries with chained manuscripts was further considered necessary not only because of the needs of an order of bibliotheconomy as described above but also because of the relevant terms and conditions of the bequests to university and college centres as well as ecclesiastical institutions. The donors in this way ensured the unity of their bequest as well as their storage and safeguarding in rooms protected from would-be book thieves, such as was the case of Lewis Charlton and his bequest to the Hereford Cathedral's library.<sup>101</sup>

**The interior decoration of the library.** There are no data extant for additional architectural or adornment of any of the libraries described or mentioned here. The oldest reference of such a library, combined with the present state of the whole construction is to the papal library of Avignon, to be precise, the pope's private study, which communicated with his apartments situated on the third level of the Treasure Tower.<sup>102</sup> This private room for a library and study had been installed for account of Pope Clement VI, and in 1369 contained a total of 64 manuscripts.<sup>103</sup> Its interior decoration will have been no different from the pope's apartments: wooden ceiling with apparent well-worked wooden beams ending in decorative corbels, with geometric motifs painted on the main trunk of the beams, a painted decoration in naturalistic style on all wall surfaces and marble window seats.<sup>104</sup>

Another sample of special architectural planning of a room of a library has to do with the personal collection of the king of France Charles V situated in his palace of the Ile de la Cité, in the Fauconnerie Tower of the Louvre.<sup>105</sup> The king entrusted its design to Gilles Mallet, the first librarian of France's royal library.<sup>106</sup> The collection was initially distributed on two levels of the tower and subsequently occupied a third. The room on the first level was the object of particular attention, the wall surfaces and ceiling revetted with excellent quality wood. The windows had bars to prevent incursions of diverse fowl and vermin and the furnishing was chosen to serve the needs of study and reading rather than copying work.<sup>107</sup>

*The library  
of Charles V*



22. *The library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, from an etching signed Gertrude Hayes, published by W.H. Beynon & Co., Cheltenham.*





THE LIBRARY





With old book cases



**From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.** The chamber-libraries incorporated in monastery or university centres or in schools of higher education and all educational centres as well as the book collections of Europe's royal courts began to be designed on architectural specifications from the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>108</sup> The pioneers of this initiative were the Oxford and Cambridge colleges such as Exeter, Queens', Merton and others as early as the last decades of the fourteenth century, in numbers multiplying from the beginning of the fifteenth.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, older corresponding installations were improved and rearranged – known as *nova libraria* – bringing us to the end of the fifteenth century when Oxford's Bodleian library was installed as a model, completed in 1488 with Duke Humphrey's library.<sup>110</sup>

*The library  
of St. Mark*

There are examples in Italy of the architectural aspect of libraries, one of which represents the best preserved room built in the Late Middle Ages, together with its original fittings. Of an earlier date is the library of Saint Mark in Florence, a construction of impressive dimensions built by Michelozzo, in operation from 1443. It was destroyed in an earthquake ten years later, in 1453, and was not restored until 1457. Nothing remains of this library but its architectural shell.<sup>111</sup>

*The library  
of Novello  
Malatesta*

The second library was built in Cesena on the plans of the architect Matteo Nutti between 1447 and 1452, part of the Franciscan Order's monastery. The object of the plan was to house the personal library of Cesena noble Novello Malatesta. The picture presented today by the library is the same as in the fifteenth century, both as to its fittings and its manuscripts, constituting the optimum guide to the architectural approach to a library room in the Middle Ages as well as the outset of the architectural approach to the design of libraries in the Renaissance.<sup>112</sup>

This architectural tradition that evolved in the course of the Late Middle Ages from the early thirteenth century, both as to the interior organization of the space as well as to the fittings of the library was to continue until after the mid-sixteenth century. However, the requirements formed in the public and monastery libraries in the course of the triumphant progress of printing in European intellectual life were to alter the aspect radically: storage space and the unobtrusive rooms with bookcases multiplied, at the same time spawning small satellite libraries, as will be seen in detail in the next and last volume.





23. *Perspective sketch of the interior of Duke Humphrey's Library in 1448. Published in the edition: Archaeologia, Recent Discoveries (see Note 109).*







NOTES

VIII

The Architecture  
of Libraries







## NOTES

1. A reminder that the first to use the term 'Bibliotheca' was Festus in *De significatu verborum*: "Both by the Greeks and by ourselves, bibliotheca signifies both a large number of books as well as the space in which these books are placed." In Latin, besides, the word *theca* means a case or whatever contains one or more objects. Isidore of Seville also includes the term in his *Etymologiae*; see p. 19.
2. See Staikos III, p. 469.
3. See Staikos II, pp. 280-284.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-242.
5. See pp. 26-28.
6. See Staikos III, pp. 62-65 and herein pp. 260-265.
7. On the significance of the Bible in the Christian world. see pp. 76-80.
8. See Staikos II, pp. 353-356.
9. The greatest enemies of books and libraries in general were the unhealthy conditions from the lack of ventilation and elementary heating. It is due to them that we have 'inherited' worm-eaten valuable and unique codices and indecipherable books from the damage caused by damp to parchment and paper pages. H. Blotius's despairing testimony thereon when he saw the sorry state of the Austrian imperial library is typical, see p. 371.
10. See fig. 3. The mosaic depiction of the wide-open chest with the four Gospels, each a separate codex must date to before 449 when the empress Galla Placida was buried there; see J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books. An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the earliest times to the end of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1901, 39.
11. See p. 83.
12. See Staikos II, pp. 285-289 and W. Hoepfner, *Zu griechischen Bibliotheken und Bücherschränken*, Berlin/New York, 1996/97 Pl. not numbered and *Id.*, 'Die Bibliothek Eumenes' II in Pergamon', *Antike Bibliotheken*, W. Hoepfner (ed.), Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 2002, 51.
13. On Cassiodorus's educational philosophy, see pp. 81-82.
14. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 44.
15. The great Hellenistic libraries such as at Alexandria and Pergamon as well as those, public and private, of the Roman era were adorned with busts and bas-relief wall representations of great poets and writers of Antiquity. The bust of Varro, for instance, stood in Rome's first public library, built on the initiative of Asinius Pollio; see Staikos II, pp. 349-352 and R. Henghini, 'Die "Biblioteca Ulpia". Neueste Ausgrabungen in der Bibliothek im Traiansforum in Rom', *Antike Bibliotheken*, op. cit., 120.
16. See p. 181 (fig. 24).
17. Only from about the end of the eleventh century did the Rules of the monastic orders begin to define the duties of the librarian, the *custos librorum* (a role often played by the precentor) as well as the obligations of the brotherhood regarding the use of the books. See for example the case of Archbishop Lanfranc in about 1070. See also p. 397.
18. See p. 146 ff.
19. See p. 342.
20. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 82-84;



- S. Cruden, *Scottish medieval churches*, Edinburgh, 1986 and R. Gameson, 'The Medieval Library (to c. 1450)', *LBI*, 18-19.
21. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 82.
  22. The Fossa Nuova was founded in 1135 by Pope Innocent II and the monastery initially followed the Rule of St. Benedict, before joining the Cistercian Order and acquiring enormous influence in Italy; see Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 82-85.  
In regard to the abbey founded by Obazine, a photograph with niches the length of the exterior south wall of the cloister is published in the article by Anne Bondéelle, 'Trésors des moines, Les Chartreux, les Cisterciens et leurs livres', *HBF*, 68.
  23. See Staikos I, 274 (fig. 114) as also the fourth century BC mixing bowl (crater) depicting a student of music in front of whom there is an open chest (Museum Martin-von-Wagner, Würzburg).
  24. Reproduced in the edition by P. Booth Wiley, *A Free Library in this City. The Illustrated History of the San Francisco Public Library*, Weldon Owen, 1996, 53 and Geneviève Hasenohr, 'L'essor des bibliothèques privées au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles', *HBF*, 221 (Pl. 4). Brussels, Royal Library (Ms 9278, fo. 10)
  25. See W. Löschburg, *Historic Libraries of Europe*, Edition Leipzig, 1974, 51 and *Mappa Mundi and the Chained Library. Treasures of Hereford Cathedral*, Hereford Cathedral and Jarrold Publishing, 2008, 12.
  26. See Marie Henriette Jullien de Pommerol – J. Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *HBF*, 157.
  27. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 95 (fig. 27). Although this cupboard was found in Obazine's church and, according to M. Viollet-le-Duc must date to the early thirteenth century, it is however nowhere certified that it was used exclusively for the storage of books.
  28. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 95 (fig. 26). This piece of furniture was traditionally called *le Chartier de Bayeux*, which indicates it was made as an archive filing cabinet.
  29. See Gameson, 'The Medieval', op. cit., 19.
  30. See 'Depredatio abbatis Sancti Edmundi', *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, T. Arnold (ed.), 3 vols., RS, London 1890-96, vol. 2, 330.
  31. See in regard to the abbey of Cluny, G. Duby, 'Le budget de l'abbaye de Cluny entre 1088 et 1155. Économie domaniale et économie monétaire', *Annales: Économie, sociétés, civilisations*, 7, 2, 1952, 155-171.
  32. See pp. 400-401.
  33. See p. 114 ff.
  34. See pp. 170-172.
  35. See G. Becker (ed.), *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn 1885; see pp. 158-160.
  36. See p. 154.
  37. See M. Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, M. Lapidge – H. Gneuss (eds.), Cambridge 1985, 33-89 (no. VII).
  38. See Gameson, 'The Medieval', op. cit., 16-17.
  39. See *Catalogi*, op. cit., 24-28.
  40. *Ibid.*, 64-73.
  41. *Ibid.*, 82-100. See p. 160 herein.
  42. There is a vast bibliography regarding this unique drawing. We will mention here a brief history of the composition of the plan and the principal relevant studies.  
The parchment ground plan is kept in St. Gallen monastery, with descriptions in Latin and detailed notes in black ink, in



contrast to the red colour used for drawings. See W. Horn – E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, 3 vols. Berkeley 1979; K. Hecht, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan*, Sigmaringen, 1983; H. Horat, 'The Medieval Architecture of the Abbey of St. Gall', *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall. An Overview*, J.C. King – W. Vogler (eds.), Stuttgart/Zurich, Belser Verlag, 1991, 186-191 and 196-197 and W. Jacobsen, 'Introduction: Nouvelles recherches sur le Plan de Saint-Gall', *Le Rayonnement spirituel et culturel de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall*, Actes publiés sous la direction de C. Heitz – W. Vogler – Fr. Heber-Suffrin, Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 2000, 11-17.

43. See Horat, 'The Medieval', *op. cit.*, 196-197 and A. Masson, *Le décor des Bibliothèques du Moyen Âge à la Révolution*, Genève/Paris, Librairie Droz, 1972, 16.

44. See Horat, 'The Medieval', *op. cit.*, 186.

The plan of the abbey of St. Gallen was drawn at the monastery of Reichenau in about 825, as ordered by Heito who intended to offer it to Gozbert, abbot of St. Gallen. On the plan the scriptorium and library occupied a level in a construction adjacent to the left side of the Sanctuary, at the height of the altar: St. Gallen, Library of the Abbey (Cod. Sang. 1092).

1. Church
2. Scriptorium with the library above
3. Sacristy on two levels
4. Room for the preparation of communion wafers and holy oils
5. Cloister
6. Place for the chapter meeting
7. Heated room with a dormitory above
8. Bathing area with latrines
9. Refectory with a cloakroom above
10. Kitchen
11. Cellar with a storage room above

12. Room for receiving guests
13. Room for the caretaker of the poor
14. Hospice for pilgrims
15. Brewery and bakery for the hospice
16. Gatekeeper's room
17. Quarters for the director of the school
18. Guest rooms for visiting monks
19. Brewery and bakery for the guest house
20. Guest house
21. External school
22. Abbey
23. House for bloodletting
24. Physician's house
25. Small herb garden
26. Infirmary
27. Kitchen and bath for the infirmary and bloodletting facility
28. Double chapel for the infirmary and novitiate
29. Novitiate
30. Kitchen and bath for the novitiate
31. Cemetery and orchard
32. Vegetable garden
33. Gardener's quarters
34. Goose run
35. Watchman's quarters
36. Chicken run
37. Grain shed
38. Workshops
39. Kitchen and brewery for the monks
40. Mill
41. Pestle
42. Kiln
43. Granary and cooperage
44. Stable for cattle and horses
45. Sheepfold
46. Towers
47. Goat stall
48. Stable for cows
49. Breeding area for animals
50. Pigsty
51. Servants' quarters



45. See W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe. The architecture of the Orders*, Princeton/London, 29 and Anne Prache, 'Bâtiment et décor'. *HBF*, 352.
46. See Braunfels, *Monasteries*, op. cit., 29.
47. See A. Legris, *Les vies interpolées des saints de Fontenelle*, Analecta Bollandiana, XVII, 1898, 305. A great activity in codex-writing was observed at this abbey and its library was augmented in many ways. See É. Lesne, *Les livres, 'scriptoria' et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 4, 2 vols., Lille 1938-1940, 582 and Prache, 'Bâtiment', op. cit., 352.
48. See Geneviève Nortier-Marchand, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie. Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroul, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen*, Caen, 1966, 142-148.
49. Regarding the abbey of Cluny, see pp. 000-000.
50. See Gameson, 'The Medieval', op. cit., 21-23.
51. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 86, 89.
52. *Ibid.*, 86-87; see also herein note 1.
53. In regard to monastic architecture imposed according to the dictates of Bernard de Clairvaux, see mainly G. Duby, *L'Art Cistercien*, Paris, Falmmarion, 1976 and B. Chauvin, 'Le Plan bernardin', *Bernard de Clairvaux, histoire, mentalités, spiritualité*, Colloquim de Lyon – Cîteaux – Dijon, 1990, Paris, Cerf, 1992, 339. For a wealth of illustrated material about the monastic life of this Order, see the edition *Cistercian Abbeys. History and Architecture*, phot. H. Gaud and texts J.-Fr. Leroux-Dhuys, Könemann, 2006, 37-83.
54. See Chauvin, 'Le Plan', op. cit., and in general see A. Dimier, *Receuil des plans d'églises cisterciennes*, Paris 1949.
55. See Duby, *L'Art Cistercien*, op. cit.
56. See Abbé Corbolin, *Monographie de l'abbaye de Fontenay*, Cîteaux 1882.
57. See Emilia Altarriba – J. Baluja, *Poblet*, 1988; J.M. Oliver, *Abbaye de Poblet*, Barcelona, Escudo de Oro, 1997
58. See Margarete Stillger, *Allemagne*, Paris, Hachette, 1964 and Marianne Bernhard, *Abbayes*, Munich/Paris, IPG/PML, 1994
59. See G. Coppack, *Fountains Abbey*, London, English Heritage, 1993 and in general E.C. Norton – D. Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, Cambridge 1986.
60. See Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vols. 9-14 (A-B), Bibliothèque de la revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1933-1934.
61. Stepher Harding, born in Dorset, England, date unknown, who died in 1134, opted to become an itinerant intellectual. Having lived as a monk in various abbeys in France, he undertook the charge of the abbey of Cîteaux in 1108, when it flourished. Bernard de Clairvaux visited it in 1112 accompanied by his followers, who proceeded to found new abbeys in the surrounding area. Harding's treatise *Carta Caritatis* (*Charter of Statutes*) played a significant role in the philosophy of the Order of Cistercians. See G.R. Huldeston, 'Stephen Harding', *CE XIV*, 290 and C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, Addison/Wesley, 1989<sup>2</sup>.
62. See B. Garner, *La musique française du Moyen Âge*, PUF, 1961, 5-22.
63. See pp. 61-66.
64. See pp. 53-61.



65. See *Umanesimo e Padri della Chiesa. Manoscritti e incunaboli di teste partistici da Francescon Petrarca al primo Cinquecento*, Sebastiano Gentile (ed.), Rose, 1997, 348.
66. See p. 34.
67. See p. 73.
68. Writers and intellectuals in their personal studio are comprised in Dora Thornton's edition *The Scholar in his Study. Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1997.
69. Dürer repeatedly depicted Jerome in his work place, as mentioned in J. Selz's book, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Albrecht Dürer*, Paris ACR Édition, 1988, 179.
70. For Jerome by Antonello, see Thornton, *The Scholar*, op. cit., 55.
71. Regarding Jerome by Carpaccio, see p. 26 herein.
72. See p. 409.
73. See Thornton, *The Scholar*, op. cit., 137.
74. See p. 52.
75. See the manuscript: The Hague, Museum van het Boek (Ms 10 B 23, fo. 269); see also p. 329 (fig. 6) as well as the codex *Visions de sainte Elisabeth*, offered by the translator Jacques Bauchant to Charles V himself. See Ursula Baumeinter – Marie-Pierre Laffitte, *Des livres et des rois*, Bibliothèque Nationale/Quai Voltaire, 1992, 50-51.
76. See Staikos III, 255 (fig. 14). The process of dictation of the *Revelation* by St. John the Divine to Prochorus is mentioned by Tertullian.
77. The characteristic depiction of Gregory the Great has as elements: his Episcopal robes and the presentation of the Gospel, at times blessing with his right hand. The presence of the Holy Ghost is as a rule in the illuminations of him is in reference to the account given by his friend and scribe

Peter the Deacon: in the course of dictation of the *Homilies* on Ezekiel a veil was drawn between him and the Pope. As the pope remained silent for some time, Peter made a hole in the veil, through which he saw a dove sitting on the Pope's head and approaching its beak to his ear. When the dove withdrew, the Pope began dictating again, and when he stopped again, the scribe saw that the dove was in the same place again.

An early depiction of this tradition is related to the scribe Bebo, abbot of the abbey of Seeon presenting a manuscript to the emperor Henry II. At the top left the pope is writing, during the 'Holy Ghost's revelations.

78. See p. 293.
79. See p. 293.
80. See p. 341.
81. See *Munimenta academica or Documents illustrative of academical life and studies at Oxford*, H. Anstey (ed.), vol. 1, RS (London 1868) 58-59.
82. See M.B. Parkes, 'The provision of books', *HUO* 2 (1992), 470-472.
83. See F.M. Powicke, *The medieval books in Merton College*, Oxford 1931, no. 270.
84. See R. Willis, *The Architectural history of the University of Cambridge*, ed. J.W. Clark, 4 vols., Cambridge 1886, vol. 3, 391.
85. See W.A. Pantin, *Canterbury College Oxford*, 4 vols., Oxford Historical Society, n.s. 6-8, 30 (1947-1985), III, 167.
86. See C.W. Boase (ed.), *Register of Exeter College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society 27 (1894), XLVII and H.W. Garrod – J.R.L. Highfield, 'An indenture between William Rede, bishop of Chichester and John Bloxham and Henry Stapilton, fellows of Merton College, Oxford, London 22 October 1374', *BLR* 10/1, (1978-82), II, 9-19.



87. See p. 413 ff.

88. See Clark *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 173 ff.

From the early decades of the fourteenth century at least, the authorities of the college of the Sorbonne had seen to the composition of regulations for the operation of the library. The regulations of 1321 were repeatedly revised and added to, and concerned the following:

1. No member of the Community was to enter the library without his habit and hood.
2. Access to the library was forbidden to children and the illiterate.
3. Persons with recommendations or from academic life asking permission to enter the library had to be accompanied by one of the *socii*, but their companions to stay outside.
4. Every *socius* had to keep the library key safely and never lend it.
5. Under no circumstances was a source of artificial light allowed in the library.
6. Nobody could borrow a codex from the library without permission from the Community.
7. Before placing a book on the bookstand, the reader had to dust its surfaces and handle it with particular care, then replacing it in exactly the place he took it from.
8. Writing on the volume was prohibited as well as any staining or folding of any page.
9. While reading or writing nobody should be interrupted, either by speaking or walking about.
10. Quiet should reign in the library as far as possible, as in a *sacer et augustus* space.
11. Books containing excommunicated texts, books that could provoke *public outcry*

were to be under control of the professor of theology, while he himself must not take part in discussions and dichotomies that might arise from certain works.

12. The professor must also refrain from reading such texts lest he be contaminated.

13. In the case of disobedience of these commands it will be punished by censure.

A. Franklin, *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris. Églises, Monastères, Collèges, etc.*, vol. 1, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1867, 238-239 and for the reproduction of the 1431 Rule, after page 246.

89. Only the librarian had the right to work in the library area with artificial light – i.e. a candle – or whoever considered they had that right.

90. See p. 429 (note 88).

91. See Gameson, 'The Medieval', op. cit., 30-31.

92. *Ibid.*, 30.

93. See Franklin, *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques*, op. cit., 221-317. The building housing Navarre's library, dating to 1506, had the same architectural plan. It was destroyed in the nineteenth century, the Polytechnic School built in its place. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 165 (fig. 64).

It may be assumed from descriptions and the elements given by the disposition of the windows that the design of the desk-bookcases gave them about the same height as the lecterns and were not similar to Hereford's for example (see fig. 19).

94. The most comprehensive study, even to this day, regarding the aspect and fittings of the libraries of the British colleges is by Clark (*The Care of Books*, op. cit., 131). In regard to the university libraries of Italy, France and other countries, the available



- data are based on engravings, which are however of a later date, from about the end of the sixteenth century on.
95. See pp. 414-415.
  96. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 154-155.
  97. See the different types of desks-bookstands-bookcases, connected to seats or not in Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 155-164, 168-208; see also Löschburg, *Historic Libraries*, op. cit., 34-35.
  98. See J.W. Clark, M.A., *Libraries in the Medieval and Renaissance Periods*, Chicago, Argonaut, Inc., Publishers, 1894, 37 (fig. 1).
  99. Hereford's is one of the few libraries preserved in their original form, featuring the authentic bookcases with their metal accessories; see Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 174 (fig. 73) and 175-178; see also p. 354 herein.
  100. See p. 413 (fig. 19).
  101. See p. 351.
  102. See S. Gagniere, 'Le Trésor bas dans la Tour du Pape. Fovilles et restauration', *Annuaire des amis du palais des papes et des monuments d'Avignon*, 61-62 (1984-1985), 45-46 and de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 148, 152-153, 161.
  103. See de Pommerol – Monfrin, 'La bibliothèque', op. cit., 157.
  104. *Ibid.*, 153.
  105. See pp. 329-330.
  106. See Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1988, 5; see also p. 329 herein. Regarding the possible view of the library of a man of letters or of an aristocrat, see the illumination in the codex *Le Roman de Jean d'Avesnes*, by Jean d'Avesnes, Count of Hainaut, made in the fifteenth century. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Arsenal, Ms 5208, fo. 1).
  107. See p. 328.
  108. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, op. cit., 148 ff. and Gameson, 'The Medieval', op. cit., 30.
  109. See in general G. Jackson-Stops, 'The buildings of the medieval College', *New College, Oxford, 1379-1979*, J. Buxton – P.H. Williams (eds.), Oxford 1979, 147-192 and R.W. Hunt, 'The Medieval Library'; *id.*, 317-345 and Gameson, 'The Medieval', op. cit., 32-33.
  110. See the reproduction of the library in the article by J.N.L. Myres, Esq., 'Recent Discoveries in the Bodleian Library', *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, ed. of Society of Antiquaries of London, CI (sec. ser, vol. LI), Printed in Oxford, 1967, 162-163 (fig. 4).
  111. See K.Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 BC to AD 1600)*, tr. T. Cullen, New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press/London: The British Library, 2000, 344-345, 354.
  112. *Ibid.*, 304-319. In particular for these two libraries and their architectural tradition in the Renaissance, see Staikos V (under publication).







## ABBREVIATIONS – BIBLIOGRAPHY – INDEX



## ABBREVIATIONS

*AB* = *Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles

*AJPh* = *American Journal of Philology*, Baltimore

*Albrecht II* = *M. von Albrecht, Ιστορία τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Λογοτεχνίας. Ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικο ὡς τὸν Βοήθιο καὶ ἡ σημασία της γιὰ τὰ νεώτερα χρόνια, ἐπιμ. Δ.Ζ. Νικήτας, 2 τόμοι, Ἡράκλειο, Πανεπιστημιακές Ἐκδόσεις Κρήτης, 1997 (= *Geschichte der römischen Literatur: von Andronicus bis Boethius; mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Bedeutung für die Neuzeit*, ed. D.Z. Nikitas, 2 vols., Iraklio, University of Crete Editions, 1997).*

*ASNP* = *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di Lettere e Filosofia*, Pisa

*BAGB* = *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé*, Paris

*B.E.C.* = *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 1, Paris 1839

*Bischoff, B., MS* = Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, Stuttgart, 1966-1981

*BLR* = *Bodleian Library Record*, vols 1-6, Oxford

*Bull. de littér. ecclésiast.* = *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, Toulouse 1912

*CE* = *Catholic Encyclopedia*

*CHBB* = *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, J. Barnard, D.F. McKenzie – D. McKitterick – I.R. Willison

*Codices Vaticani Latini* = *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 1-678, vol. I-II, recensuerunt M. Vattasso – P. Franchi.*

*CR* = *Classical Review*, Oxford

*CSEL* = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna

*Curtius* = Ernst Robert Curtius, *La Littérature Européenne*, Traduit de l'allemand par Jean Bréjoux, 2 vols, Presses Universitaires de France, 1991

*DMA* = *Dictionnaire de Moyen Âge*

*EHR* = *The English Historical Review*

*GW II* = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 8 vols., Kommission für Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, reprint A. Hiersemann, Stuttgart 1968

*HBF* = *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques médiévales du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1530*, ed. André Vernet, Paris, Promodis – Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1989

*HCL* = *Hereford Cathedral Library*



*HFL* = *Histoire de la France littéraire, Naissances, Renaissances, Moyen Âge – XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Frank Lestringant – Michel Zink, Paris, PUF, 2006.

*HThR* = *Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge Mass.

*HUO* = *The history of the University of Oxford (Oxford)*, I. J.I. Catto (ed.), *The early Oxford schools*, 1984; II. J.I. Catto – T.A.R. Evans (eds.), *Late medieval Oxford*, 1992; III. J.K. McConica (ed.), *The collegiate university*, 1986

*JThS* = *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford

Kenney – Clausen = *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, 2. *Latin Literature*, ed. E.J. Kenney – W.V. Clausen, Cambridge 1982

*LBI* = *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols

*LP* = *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 1979, 1986, 1990

Mansi = J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum consiliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florenz 1759

*MEFR* = *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, Paris

*MGH* = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Berlin 1877-1891

MIET (N.B.C.F.) = Cultural Foundation of the National Bank

*MS* = *Mediaeval Studies*, Toronto

*Mus Afr* = *Museum Africum. West African Journal of Classics and Related Studies*. Univ. of Ibadan, Nigeria

*PL* = *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris

*PLRE* = *Prosopography of the Later Roman, Empire I*, ed. A.K.M. Jones et al., 1970

*RBen* = *Revue Bénédictine*, Abbay de Maredsous

*RBPh* = *Revue Belge du Philologie et d'Histoire*, Mechelen

*RE* = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart

*REA* = *Revue des Études Anciennes*, Bordeaux

*ReAug* = *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, Paris

*Rec Aug* = *Recherches augustiniennes* (Suppl.)

*REL* = *Revue des Études Latines*, Paris

*RPh* = *Revue de Philologie*, Paris

*RSLR* = *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa*, Florence

*SRM* = *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*

*SS* = Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 1: *Die bayerischen Diözesen*, 3rd ed., Wiesbaden 1974; 2: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1980



ABBREVIATIONS  
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Staikos I = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Minos to Cleopatra*, vol. I, KOTINOS, Athens 2002

Staikos II = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Cicero to Hadrian*, vol. II, KOTINOS, Athens 2005

Staikos III = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Constantine the Great to Cardinal Bessarion*, vol. III, KOTINOS, Athens 2006

Staikos V = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Petrarch to Michelangelo*, vol. V (under publication)

TAPhA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Cleveland

TCBS = *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*

TRHS = *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

TWNFC = *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

VA = Ludwig Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, 3 vols., Munich, 1909, 1911, 1920

ZKG = *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Stuttgart



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*THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION, VOL. IV: FROM CASSIODORUS TO FURNIVAL.*  
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